A VIEW

OF

THE PRESENT STATE

OF THE

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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A VIEW, &c.

AMONG the various calamities which flow from the ambition and cupidity of man, there are few productive of more extensive and distressing evils, or which give rise to greater degrees of human misery and wretchedness—none that occasion a more barbarous destruction of the species, or which in their general tendency are more inimical to the peace, the happiness and moral rectitude of a large portion of mankind, than the African Slave Trade. When we contemplate the long train of cruelties which are inflicted upon the unoffending negroes, from the time they are kidnapped in Africa and dragged away from their homes to the slave ships, till their arrival at the place of their destination, and reflect that they are men—that the universal parent is just and equal in all his ways—regards all the human family with the same tenderness and compassion, and designs the happiness of all—we must surely be forcibly and fearfully impressed with the crying wickedness, the injustice and inhumanity, of this abominable traffic.

It is greatly to be regretted, that among all the benevolent and laudable exertions for meliorating the condition of man which characterize the present day, so little has been done, or is now doing, towards informing the public mind in this country, upon the subject of this nefarious and cruel occupation.

The citizens of many sections of our country, are not only unacquainted with the barbarities and innumerable evils which are its inseparable concomitants, but are in some parts almost wholly ignorant of the present existence of the Slave Trade. To this cause we may probably attribute the apathy and indifference, which too generally pervades the United States upon this momentous subject. For it can scarcely be imagined that in a land where light and knowledge have been so eminently diffused, we can be so devoid of the tender feelings of human nature—so insensible of the principles of righteousness and justice, as to read the melancholy re-

cital of the woes and the wrongs which the negroes endure, without being awakened to a sense of the imperious duty which rests upon every Christian, to use all proper exertions for averting the progress of this desolating evil.

A successful means for aiding this very desirable object appears to be the circulation of tracts containing details of the various scenes of cruelty attendant on the several stages of this horrid business, from the stealing in Africa, the journey to the sea shore, the sufferings and dreadful mortality of the voyage, till they at last enter upon a hopeless, an interminable exile in a foreign land.

We rejoice in the persuasion, that the real character and effects of the slave trade as it now exists, need only to be published through our country, to raise one general feeling of abhorrence, and to arouse men of liberal and enlightened minds, to devote their time and talents in procuring the abolition of a traffic replete with the deepest guilt in its prosecution, and whose design is the unconditional and cruel bondage of thousands of rational beings, equally entitled with ourselves to the enjoyment of all the blessings, the comforts and the privileges of life.

The measures which have been adopted within the last thirty years for the suppression of the slave trade would furnish matter to compose a volume; but it may be sufficient to enumerate the principal laws which have been enacted by the different Governments for that object, before we enter upon a view of the present state of the traffic, and the accumulated horrors which accompany it.

In the year 1794, the American Congress passed an act prohibiting the citizens of the United States, or any person residing therein, from carrying on a trade or traffic in slaves to any foreign country, or from procuring the inhabitants of any foreign kingdom or country, to be transported to any foreign country, &c. to be disposed of as slaves. In 1798 a law was enacted, forbidding under severe penalties the introduction of slaves into the Mississippi Territory, to which the constitutional provision did not extend. In 1800, a law was enacted prohibiting citizens of the United States from holding any property in vessels used in transporting slaves from one foreign country to another, or serving either on board vessels of the United States, or others engaged in such foreign trade; and United States armed ships were authorized to seize vessels and crews employed contrary to this act. In 1803, a law was enacted disallowing masters of vessels to bring into any port, where the state laws prohibited the importation, any person of colour, not a native, a

citizen or registered seaman of the United States. In 1807, a law was passed totally abolishing the slave trade within the jurisdiction of the United States, to take effect on the first day of the next year, the earliest period at which such a law could be enforced consistently with the constitutional restriction. And the President was authorized to instruct the commanders of armed ships, to bring in vessels found on the high seas contravening this act. Several additions and modifications have been since made to this law, particularly in 1819 and 1820; in the latter of which, the trade is declared to be piracy, and those American citizens engaged in it punishable with death. In the orders given by the Secretary of the Navy to the commanders of American cruisers, they are strongly enjoined to pay vigilant attention to the suppression of this inhuman and disgraceful traffic.

The British parliament, in the year 1807, passed a law for the abolition of the African slave trade throughout the British dominions. The general abolition of this trade, has been a subject of negociation between that government and the different European powers with whom treaties have been made since that time. A letter from Prince Talleyrand to the British minister, dated 30th of July, 1815, states that the King of France, in consequence of communications received from the British minister, had issued directions, that on the part of France, the traffic in slaves should cease from the present time every where, and for ever. This was followed by an additional article to the treaty concluded at Paris on the 20th of November following between France and the allied powers. By this article these powers engaged to renew conjointly their efforts, with a view of securing final success to those principles, which they proclaimed in 1815, and of concerting without loss of time, the most effectual measures for the certain and definitive abolition of a commerce, so odious and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and nature.

By a decree of the Spanish monarch, dated December, 1817, the subjects of his government are prohibited from that day forward, from going to buy negroes on the coast of Africa north of the line; and the like prohibition applies from May 1820, to places south of the equator. The slaves bought in violation of this decree, are declared free, the ship confiscated, and the purchaser, captain, master and pilot, condemned to ten years transportation to the Philippines.

By a law dated 1818, the subjects of Portugal are prohibited from carrying on the slave trade in any part of the African coast north of the line Slaves bought north of the

line are declared free, the vessel and cargo confiscated, and captain, pilot and supercargo, banished to Mosambique for five years, and subject to a fine equal to the expected profits of the adventure.

A law dated November 1818, ostensibly designed to prevent the slave trade, was promulgated by the government of the Netherlands.

A treaty was concluded between England and Denmark in 1814, prohibiting the subjects of the latter kingdom from carrying on the slave trade.

When the atrocious character of the African slave trade, the abhorrence with which it has been long beheld by the friends of humanity in every quarter of the globe, the stigma stamped upon it by the Sovereigns at Vienna in 1815, and the various laws enacted for its suppression, by the principal maritime powers of Europe and America, are considered, it may appear incredible, that this traffic should still continue to disgrace the christian name; yet from various sources of authentic information, it is an unquestionable fact that these people remain exposed to all the horrors inseparable from this iniquitous commerce, and to an extent surpassing all former example. Of the truth of these general assertions, the following extracts furnish ample testimony.

"Previously to the revolutionary war, the number of slaves carried away in British ships was estimated at 38,000 annually. About 40,000 or 42,000 more were supposed to be carried away by the Portuguese, French, Dutch, Danes, and Americans. This estimate probably falls below the truth, as there is reason to believe that the annual export of the Portuguese alone amounted to 25,000; and the number of slaves introduced into St. Domingo by the French, some time before the revolution in that island, is known to have been very large. In the course of a few years after the breaking out of the maritime war of 1793, the English share of the slave trade rose to the enormous amount of 55,000 in a single year. The only other nations that during that period, and down to the year 1810 were engaged in the slave trade of Western Africa, were the Portuguese and Americans. The number carried off by the Portuguese, has been estimated at from 20,000 to 25,000 annually, and by the Americans 15,000. Notwithstanding the prohibitory act of America, which was passed in 1807, ships bearing the American flag continued to trade for slaves until 1809; when, in consequence of a decision in the English prize appeal courts, which rendered American slave ships liable to capture and condemnation, the flag suddenly disappeared from the coast.

Its place was almost instantaneously supplied by the Spanish flag.

This sudden substitution of the Spanish for the American flag, seemed to confirm what was established in a variety of instances, by more direct testimony that the slave trade, which now assumed a Spanish dress, was in reality only the trade of other nations in disguise." See 13th report, A. Institution, p. 60, 61.

Extract of a letter and memorandum transmitted from the Governor of Sierra Leone to Earl Bathurst, dated January 14, 1822.

"I sincerely lament that my forbodeings, as to the extent of the traffic in slaves, have been fully realized; that more slaves were carried from Africa in the course of last year than in the preceding year.

"The circumstance of a heavy duty or custom becoming due to the chiefs of Bonny and Calabar on every slave ship when fully laden, necessarily induces them to keep a kind of registry of the different vessels: numeral lists from these rivers, and founded on the said registry, frequently come to this colony, but from their magnitude had been deemed exaggerated and incredible. Captain Leeke, however, in the month of October (1821) ascertained on good authority, that the number of slave *cargoes* taken out from Bonny, from July in the preceding year (1820) up to that time, was actually *one hundred and ninety*. A similar return from the Calabar for a like period, made a total of *one hundred and sixty two*." 16th report, p. 63 and 64.

It is perhaps impracticable to ascertain the exact amount of slaves exported annually from Africa, owing to the legal restraints upon the trade: but supposing the cargoes to average 400 slaves each, 352 being shipped in 14 months would amount to 120,684 slaves per annum from these two rivers only. The aggregate of 200,000 per annum, would not, therefore, appear to be too great a computation for the shipments now made from the whole extent of coast, which is at least double the estimated number annually transported from Africa prior to the year 1810, notwithstanding all the exertions of Europe and America to extinguish the trade.

Extract of a letter written by Lieutenant Stockton, of the United States Schooner Alligator, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated Boston, July 26, 1821.

"The slave trade, as inhuman and impious as it is, amidst all seeming difficulties, and the world's boasts of advancement in the science of civilization and christianity, is at this moment carried on to an extravagant extent. The capital, as well as the ingenuity of a part of the commercial world, is entirely devoted to it. The European, the American, and the African too, are all interested in it, and are all implicated in this charge against the integrity of man. In vain have the amiable doctrines of religion and humanity, raised their gentle voices against it, and in vain will governments denounce it, until they shall meet on a broad and liberal policy, until their resources shall be freely offered, and their power vigorously exercised."

Extract of a letter from the same, dated Charleston, S. C. January 22, 1822, just returned from a cruize on the African Coast.

"If I met with a vessel bearing a foreign flag, I neither approached, boarded, or examined her after it was displayed, except in the case of the vessel sent by me to the United States, the commander of which I deemed a felon. In one instance I approached a vessel during the night, and sent my boat to ascertain her character. She claimed to be an Englishman and refused permission to be boarded, which was exceedingly mortifying, but in obedience to the views of the government, I submitted to it with all possible patience, and she was allowed to depart in peace without further examination. Arriving on the coast of Africa, my opinions with regard to the French flag were confirmed by all reports, and it is now generally believed, that the slave trade is almost altogether prosecuted and protected by that flag, which is, under existing circumstances, a guarantee for the safety of the trade. I am informed that the estimated number of slaves taken from Africa under the French flag during last year, is not less than 200,000."

Extract of a letter from M. C. Perry, of the United States Schooner Shark, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 17, 1822.

"Slave traders continue to resort to the Canary Islands.

in the ports of which they make their final preparations for the coast, changing their papers and completing their complement of men. About 10 days previous to my arrival at Teneriffe, a slave trading brig under French colours left the Island for the coast, and a Spanish schooner engaged in the same traffic, was daily expected at the Island of Palma. Whether or not American citizens are concerned in these vessels, I have been unable to ascertain. From the Canaries I shaped my course for the Cape de Verds, where I cruized some days, examining numerous ports, and making every enquiry respecting slave traders. The principal inhabitants of these Islands are deeply engaged in the slave trade, and there is every reason to believe that the Portuguese government is aware of the fact. Small vessels are continually arriving from the French and Portuguese trading establishments on the coast, with negroes, who are baptized in the established Roman faith, and after remaining in the Islands one year, are shipped off to the Brazils as Portuguese subjects."

Extract from Dr. E. Ayres' observations on the slave trade, communicated to the Secretary of the Navy, dated Baltimore, February 24, 1823.

"This trade, though nearly abandoned by American and British citizens, is yet carried on to an alarming degree by the other powers of Europe, and principally by the French. It has been stated that 200,000 were taken from the coast in the year ending on the 1st of June last. The following report from the commander of His Britanic Majesty's brig Snapper in the month of July of that year, will give some idea of the state of the coast at that time. The dealers have been sensible that the trade could not be much longer tolerated by the civilized powers of the world, and have exerted their utmost diligence, and in an equal proportion have the sufferings and horrors of the unfortunate victims been increased.

"The report states the aggregate amount to be 17 vessels, which could carry from 6 to 7000 slaves. These were examined by the brig Snapper in a short cruize of about three weeks in July. In the beginning of August following, there were 3 Hermaphrodite brigs and 2 schooners, under the French flag, waiting for slaves at the Gallinas; and about the end of September, other vessels under the same flag came to anchor off the bar, and were preparing to send their cargoes ashore for slaves. H. B. M. schooner Pheasant, in a short

cruize, boarded 6 other vessels prepared for taking in slaves. The following is a letter from an officer on board H. B. M. ship Myrmidon when on a cruize in the month of August. in the Bight of Benin. 'Fernando Po, August 6th. We have been cruizing in the Bight of Benin in company with the Pheasant, and in my life I never saw any thing to equal the extent to which the slave trade is carried on in this place. To give you an idea of it, I will particularize the vessels spoken to and chased, &c. At Whydah, two spoken and two chased away by the Myrmidon, and caught at Bight, (one, a Portuguese for slaves, the other said to be a trader, likewise Portuguese) unfortunately for us no slaves on board. A few miles further on, at Badagay, and on that part of the coast, 2 large Portuguese schooners; at Lagos, 6 large brigs, and a ship very nearly or quite as large as the Myrmidon, to carry 800 slaves; one brig supposed to be a Spaniard escaped. On the 20th of July, off Cape Formosa, a schooner was seen from mast-head about 16 miles from us; at 3 we caught her; she proved to be the Adelaide, Portuguese, bound to Bahia; had on board at the time of capture 232 slaves, 17 of whom have died from being so dreadfully crowded. On the 15th of April last, Commodore Sir Robert Mends arrived at the river Bonny, and discovered in that river the following vessels, viz. 1st. Yeanam, Spanish schooner from the Havanna, 306 tons, 380 slaves on board, 70 men, armed with 8 long 18 pounders and 2 long nines. 2d, Vigilante, French brig from Nantes, owner, Michard of Nantes, a notorious slave dealer, to whom the "Success," condemned at the Mauritius belonged; 240 tons, 346 slaves on board, 30 men, and armed with 4 twelve pounders, all of which were brought over on one side for the attack. 3d, Vecua, Spanish schooner from Havanna, 180 tons, 325 slaves on board, 45 men, and armed with 8 long 18 pounders, and 1 long nine. 4th, La Petite Betsy, French brig from Nantes, 184 tons, 218 slaves on board, 25 men, and armed with 4 nine pound carronades. 5th, L'Ursule, French brigantine from St. Pierre, Martinique, 100 tons, 347 slaves on board, 27 men, and armed with 4 nine pound carronades. 6th. The Liverpool brig William Ratibone, for palm oil. 7th, L'Theodore, French brig, slaves on shore.'

"These were attacked by the boats of the British squadron and captured. On board the Spanish vessel, the British officer observed a little girl 12 or 13 years old, in irons, to which there was fastened a big heavy chain 10 feet long; he ordered the irons taken off of the child and placed on the captain, who had caused them to be put on her. In less

than 3 months, the squadron under command of Sir Robert Mends, had liberated from the iron grasp of slavery, more than 2000 unfortunate victims, and placed them under the fostering care of British benevolence in the Colony.

"While I was at Montserado, there was no time without from 1 to 3 vessels lying at the St. Pauls, waiting for slaves, and when returning in the Calypso, as we passed Cape Mount, 2 vessels got under way from that place and prepared for action; as we passed them they both fired upon us, but as the shot did not reach us we passed on uninjured. There were at the same time several vessels lying at Galinas waiting for slaves."

FRANCE.

Although the British and American governments, have manifested a determination to enforce their prohibitory laws for the suppression of the African slave trade, yet from the negligence or connivance of other powers, the measures which have been adopted for this purpose, have hitherto only partially effected their benevolent object. The trade is still carried on, and particularly under the French flag, with increased avidity and with little disguise or concealment. In a pamphlet written by Thomas Clarkson, and distributed at the time of the Congress at Aix la Chapelle, in the 10th month, 1818, he says, "The peace which followed the overthrow of the revolutionary powers of France, and which has been pregnant with so many blessings to Europe, has proved to Africa a source of renewed calamities—of calamities greatly aggravated, even by the partial repose she has for a while enjoyed, as well as by the disappointment of her new-born and reasonable hopes. No sooner was peace proclaimed, than the traders in human blood, hastened from various quarters to the African shores, and with a cupidity sharpened by past restraint, renewed their former crimes. Among the rest, the slave merchants of France, who had been excluded for upwards of 20 years, from any direct participation in this murderous traffic, now eagerly resumed it; and to this very hour they continue openly to carry it on, notwithstanding the solemn renunciation of it by their own government, in 1815, and the prohibitory French laws which have since been passed to restrain them. The revival and progress of the French slave trade, have in one respect been peculiarly opprobrious, and attended with aggravated cruelty and mischief. During the ten years which preceded the restoration of Senegal and Goree to France, no part of the Af

rican coast, Sierra Leone excepted, had enjoyed so entire an exemption from the miseries produced by the slave trade as these settlements, and the country in their vicinage. The suppression of the traffic was then nearly complete; and, in consequence, a striking increase of population and of agriculture in the surrounding districts, with a proportionate improvement in other respects, gave a dawn of rising prosperity and happiness, highly exhilarating to every benevolent mind. It was in the month of January 1817, that these interesting settlements were restored to France; and melancholy indeed have been the effects: no sooner was the transfer completed, than, in defiance of the declarations, by which the king of France had prohibited the slave trade to his subjects, that trade was instantly renewed and extended in all directions. The ordinary excitements to the native chiefs, have produced more than the ordinary horrors. In the short space of a single year after the change of flags, the adjoining countries, though previously flourishing in peace and abundance, exhibited but one frightful spectacle of misery and devastation. How, indeed, could it be otherwise, when we contemplate the means employed! Bands of plunderers went forth on every side. Towns and villages were surrounded in the night and set on fire. Their miserable inhabitants, flying to escape the flames, either met death, in a hopeless resistance to the assailants, or were seized, carried away, and sold into interminable slavery and exile. By day the peaceful labourers in the field met the same fate. Ruffians approached them by stealth, seized, gagged and bound them, and led them away to the ships. Others were dragged before the barbarous tribunals of the country, and accused of pretended or impossible crimes, that they and their families might be enslaved and transported, under colour of public justice. No sooner do these settlements revert to her dominions, than the work of rapine, and carnage, and desolation commence; every opening prospect of improvement is crushed; thousands of miserable captives of every age and sex, are crowded into the pestilential holds of slave ships, and subjected to the well known horrors of the middle passage, in order to be transported to the French colonies in the West Indies. There, such of them as may survive, are doomed to pass their lives in severe and unremitting labour, exacted from them by the merciless lash of the cart-whip in the hands of a driver." "But it is not," says the same writer, "from the ports of Goree and Senegal alone that the French obtain their slaves; they go to very distant parts, such as Bonny, Calabar, and Gaboon, where

there are no French governors to check them. They fit out regularly at Havre, Bourdeaux and other ports. Their chains and hand-cuffs are put on board in boxes, and entered as if they were other articles. It is known that some of these slave ships, have gone to those distant places just mentioned, within the last two years, and that others are now out. The case of the Rodeur is very striking; she sailed from Havre, in the last year (1819) for the river Calabar. Having taken in a cargo of slaves, she proceeded with them to Guadaloupe. On the passage the poor negroes were seized with a violent Ophthalmia, (a disease of the eyes,) which soon afterwards communicated itself to the crew. The disorder had been increased from the captain's finding himself under the necessity of keeping his captives constantly below, for they were so afflicted by their captivity, that when brought upon deck, they took every opportunity of throwing themselves overboard. To deter them, some were hanged, and others shot; but this having no effect, they were obliged to be constantly confined between the decks. In process of time, under these cruel circumstances, the ophthalmia spread, and affected every individual both of the officers and crew, except one man, who alone was left capable of steering the ship. It is remarkable, while the Rodeur was on her passage, she passed a Spanish slave ship, called the St. Leon, which had left the coast of Africa some little time before her. It appeared that the crew of this latter vessel, had also caught the Ophthalmia from their own negroes, and that the complaint had spread, until not even one man of the whole crew could see to steer. In this dreadful state, the crew of the Spanish vessel implored assistance of the crew of the Rodeur, whose voices they heard as the ships approached each other; but the latter had none to lend, so that the St. Leon passed on just where the wind carried her. This vessel has never been heard of since. It is presumed that both the oppressors and the oppressed perished on the ocean, either by famine, or by finding a watery grave. When the Rodeur arrived at Guadaloupe, thirty nine negroes who were totally blind, *were thrown into the sea as being quite useless;* those who had lost only one eye were sold at a very low price. The crew of the Rodeur consisted of 22 men, of whom 12 were completely blind; 5 of the remaining 10 were recovered, and the other 5 each lost an eye."

In corroboration of these statements respecting the French slave trade, take the following extracts.

Extract from the report of Commodore Sir George R. Collier, December 27, 1821.

"It is true that certain powers have abandoned the slave trade entirely; and others have professed, and even engaged to confine it within certain limits; but, notwithstanding this, my full persuasion is, that this infamous traffic in amount, is no less than it was; and numberless opportunities of personal observation justify me in saying, that in the manner of conducting it, in cruelty and barbarity, it cannot be surpassed." Under the head France, he says, "Vessels under her flag are occasionally to be found on all parts of the coast; her colours being protection every where; but the principal resort of French slavers is in the river Bonny, where they are at most times in numbers; and where, as I was informed, they were establishing factors for the regular supply of their vessels. I had for some weeks on board the Tartar, a remarkably intelligent man acquainted with these parts, who informed me, that within the last 12 months he had seen in the two rivers of Bonny and New Calabar, nearly a hundred sail of vessels for slaves, and that the greater proportion of these bore the white flag." 16th Report A. I. p. 77 and 82.

Extract from the translation of a circular letter, dated Nantes, February 18, 1821, containing the prospectus of a slave adventure.

"SIR—Being desirous that you should take a share in an expedition which I am about to form for the coast of Africa, I proceed to detail my plan, together with its cost and probable result. You will not fail to remark, from the contents of this paper, that the only risk to be incurred will be that of profit, as every thing will be insured. It appears to me that these are, in fact, the best speculations to be undertaken in the present day: this kind of adventure offers very great advantages, of which our port bears testimony by the number of equipments which are daily fitted out there for the coast of Africa." 16th Report A. I. p. 168.

This statement is corroborated by the following extract from a memorandum furnished by Captain Moresby, dated Port Lewis, April 14, 1821. Page 170 A. I. Report.

"The next subject that now engrosses the French slave dealers, is the trade to the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in this part of the world: and at *Nantes*, it appears

little to be doubted, but they have taken up the trade prohibited to the Portuguese and Spaniards, as I was told by N. Bertrand, that *twenty-four vessels had* been fitted out at that port, similar to 'Le Success,' whose next voyage was to have been to the Havanna. It appears also from various circumstances that Mr. Latorzee is the principal agent."

Extracts from the Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser, August 25, 1821.

"On the 4th inst. 3 hermaphrodite brigs and 2 schooners were slaving at the Gallinas, all under the French flag; one of the brigs intended to carry 550 slaves, armed with 14 guns, and manned with 100 men. Another of the brigs 450, and the smallest of the schooners 250 slaves." See A. I. 16th Report, p. 176.

Sept. 29, 1821. "Lieutenant Knight was informed that a French schooner had lately sailed with 200 slaves for Cayenne, which vessel from the shortness of her built for the advantage of sailing, could only carry at the rate of *nine gallons* of water per slave; and the commander had no intention of touching at any other place before he reached his destination." p. 177.

November 10, 1821. "During the month of July last, M. Blanchard, the agent of Bourgerell's house, had with the assistance of M. Burdet, collected in the Cassamanza 200 slaves, which were to be shipped on board L'Africaine then lying at Senegal. This vessel was in the usual manner to have cleared out on a trading voyage, to have touched at Cassamanza, take in her cargo, and proceed to Martinique. The publicity that was given to this project, and the circumstances of M. Blanchard having taken in water-casks from Goree, in a small schooner hired for that purpose, induced M. du Plessis, the senior naval officer there, to dispatch a brig of war to Cassamanza. This vessel returned on the 18th of August with 10 slaves. Blanchard's hired schooner was seized, but was given up the next day, and this wretch was permitted to go at large in Goree; it appearing, that as the French law now stands, there is no criminality attached to slave trading, and therefore there is no punishment." p. 179.

November 24, 1821. "We are indebted to our correspondent on board the Snapper for the following information respecting the slave trade, acquired during her late cruize. 'During our last short cruize, we fell in with 9 slave vessels; seven of them were boarded and found to be French, completely fitted for the slave trade; in fact, 2 of them had

their slaves on board: the eighth, a large French brig, was not visited, owing to the badness of the weather, and lateness of the evening; but her nationality was ascertained by the fullest information. Most of the French vessels were fitted out and equipped at Nantes, a certain evidence of the indifference, (to use the mildest term) shown by their government towards the prevention of that traffic; for it is certainly difficult to fancy, that vessels furnished with tiers of water-casks, large boilers, irons and gratings, and also heavily armed, could clear for this coast for any other purpose than the slave trade. The number of vessels at present on the coast, and, indeed, the avowals of the masters and supercargoes, too plainly testify, that France, profiting by our treaties with the other powers, has become the carriers of slaves for those nations, and thus reaps the enormous gains produced by this odious system. One of the French schooners boarded, was a mere boat, though *she had on board* 150 *slaves literally packed together*. These poor creatures were truly in a pitiable state, and by their most expressive cries and gestures towards us, evinced their anxiety to be released." p. 182.

January 6, 1822. "Disgusting to our feelings, as any allusion to the slave trade must always be, a sense of duty compels us to notice the enormous extent to which it has at present arrived. That this abominable traffic has increased, and is evidently increasing, we assert without fear of contradiction from any person who may have taken the trouble to make himself acquainted with the subject. The exertions of Sir George R. Collier, and the squadron under his command, are duly appreciated in this Colony, as well as by every friend to humanity; yet it is impossible to calculate what would have been effected, did not certain provisions of the treaties, under which the squadron act, protect the slave ships from seizure, unless the slaves are actually on board them. So long as this clause remains in force, we must expect numerous Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch vessels on the coast. But it is the flag of the *most Christian* King, which has given an impulse and an activity to this traffic hitherto unknown. In our late numbers we have occasionally published the names of vessels under that flag, visited by our naval officers, many of these having their human cargoes on board. We have understood that most of the slaves carried from the coast in French vessels, find their way to the Havanna market; for it is rather incredible, that so many slaves should be required in *their* West India possessions. Numerical calculations we will not now enter into: in fact,

if at all correct, they must from their magnitude appear incredible. The increase of this horrid traffic is sensibly felt in this colony; and indeed it is truly painful to reflect, that the exertions of our government in effecting its total abolition, should be thwarted by the torpidity and indifference of those powers, whose good faith stands pledged, by their public declarations, for its suppression. At no very remote period, the traffickers in human blood, however numerous on the coast, could not with impunity visit the rivers in our vicinity; but now with unparalleled audacity, they anchor almost within view of the British flag. Even at the moment we now write, a French vessel is taking in her slaves at Shebar, a few miles south of the Bananas; and a Spaniard, the Rosalia, Don Francisco Freyre master, waiting for a similar cargo, not 40 miles from the Isles de Loss.

February 9, 1822. "On Friday, the French brig of war L'Huron, commanded by commodore Du Plessis, arrived in this harbour from a cruize to leeward. We learn that this vessel proceeded down the coast as far as Grand Bassa, that she fell in with and boarded several slave ships under the French flag, but that none were seized or detained. This latter fact is to us, as it must be to all friends of humanity, a matter of great disappointment and regret. We did entertain a hope, that the arrival of a French vessel of war on this part of the coast, would at least be the means of ridding our immediate neighbourhood of slave vessels, under the flag of the *most Christian* king. We have however been grievously deceived: the present visit of L'Huron serving but to give an increased portion of confidence and audacity to the French slave traders; nor indeed do they require this stimulus; for it is a fact, that a few weeks since, a large slave ship of that nation was examined by H. M. brig Thistle, almost within cannon shot of the Islands de Loss, and that a schooner, from Goree, is at this moment in the Rio Pongos, trading in human beings! The frank avowal of commodore Du Plessis, that he had met with, and examined four vessels of his own nation fitted for slaves at Cape Mount and the Gallinas, but that his instructions did not authorize him to detain them, most fully exculpates that officer. Blame must attach to another quarter; but let it fix where it may, devoted Africa suffers; and we lament to say, suffers without much prospect of redress. Our readers will recollect the circumstance of the seizure of 10 slaves by the French commander, mentioned in the letter of Verax of 25th October last (N. 180.) We have ascertained that Mons. Bourgerell, acting procureur du Roi at Senegal, at the time of the

seizure of these slaves, was so conscious of his guilt, that he immediately threw up his situation; yet the whole tribunal of Senegal, the Governor excepted, did acquit Mons. Bourgerell, and sentenced the commodore to pay the costs of the prosecution! We have also undeniable evidence, that on a late visit of one of H. M. C. Majesty's cruizers, commanded by Villeneau, to the Bissagos, the court yards of the governor and civil officers were found filled up with slaves ready for sale; nay, that the master of a Portuguese vessel, which was detained for attempting to carry slaves from Ruisk, near Goree, when in the course of examination for that charge, before the civil authorities of Goree, tendered an affidavit, stating, in his defence, that as the slave trade was carried on openly at the Bissagos, he could not be properly suspected of attempting to carry on a smuggling trade of that description, so near a French station." 16th Report A. I. page 131.

February 16, 1822. "On Friday the Thistle, Lieutenant Hagan commander, arrived from a cruize to leeward. We lament to find that the cruize of this vessel only furnishes additional proofs of the increased, and still increasing number of slave vessels, by which wretched Africa continues to be depopulated. At the Gallinas, the Thistle fell in with the bark Phœnix of Havre de Grace, and the brig Lespoir of Nantes; the former commanded by M. Duprie, and the latter by Philip Lempreur, a capitaine de frégate, in the navy of his Most Christian Majesty. These vessels expected to take in their slaves in a day or two, their tier of water-casks being filled, and the platforms ready laid to receive their victims. Will it be believed that M. Lempreur, came on board the Thistle in the full dress uniform of his rank in the French service, and stated, amongst other things, to Lieutenant Hagan, that he had a few evenings before, had the gratification of meeting an old friend and brother officer, in the person of M. Mauduit du Plessis, captain of the French brig of war L'Huron, and commodore of this station." p. 133.

By a protest delivered before Charles Pollock, Notary Public at New Orleans, as appears by his certificates dated 6th December 1821, by William M. Armstrong prize master, appointed by the commander of the U. S. ship Hornet to take charge of a slave vessel La Pensé which belonged to Nantes, captured by a privateer and recaptured by the Hornet; it appears that on the 12th of November preceding, they took possession of said brig, and found on board 239 slaves entirely *naked*, the vessel very short of provisions. Between the time of capture and the 24th, twenty-seven slaves died

from cold and other causes. The cold being intense, and the crew obliged to remain on deck during all weathers, to leave room below for the slaves. The ship was run aground near the Balize, Mississippi.

Not only is it evident from the foregoing authentic testimony, that the slave trade is extensively carried on under the French flag, and in vessels owned by French citizens, fitted out in the ports of France, but the following extracts from speeches delivered in the Chamber of Deputies in 1821 and 1822, substantiate the assertion, that it is done with the knowledge and connivance of the government of France. The impunity with which this disgraceful traffic is thus prosecuted, has increased, if possible, the hardihood and audacity of those engaged in it, which are only equalled by the barbarous treatment the poor sufferers receive at their hands.

After adverting to the laws of other nations for the annihilation of this trade, the laxity of those passed by France, and their repeated violations on the part of the French authorities on the coast of Africa, B. Constant says in proof of his allegations, "I find it stated in a letter from Lord Castlereagh to Sir C. Stewart, dated the 8th of December last, (1820) that the English squadron on the coast of Africa, has fallen in with a number of vessels bearing the French flag, and openly engaged in the slave trade. The number of vessels thus met exceeds 25; and Sir G. Collier, on entering the harbour of the Havanna, found there upwards of 35 slave ships bearing the French flag."

He states the case of the Elisa of Bordeaux, having carried a cargo of negroes from Africa in 1818, in which no prosecution had been instituted, although original documents were offered to prove the sale and purchase of the negroes, bearing on them the name of the vessel, the name of the captain, the name of the purchaser, and shewing that the price had been paid into the hands of the captain. "Do you know, gentlemen," says he, "what farther has been done? This ship, the Elisa, convicted on moral evidence, because the functionaries, dismissed or pensioned, had *purchased negroes for her*, and which probably would have been convicted on legal proof, had it been thought fit to ask the petitioner for the documents which he possessed;—this ship was neither prosecuted nor confiscated, but was, on her return from her voyage, purchased from the captain who had carried on this traffic, by the governor of Senegal."

He then relates the instance of the Rodeur already mentioned, and for his authority refers to a periodical work published in Paris on diseases of the eye, into which it was intro-

duced as a case of extraordinary ophthalmia. The account was furnished by the surgeon who had lost his sight by the epidemic. He then proceeds; "Gentlemen, the vessel is named, the port whence she sailed is pointed out, the name of the captain is known, the surgeon is here; his name is Maignan. You cannot then think it extraordinary that I should ask, at the end of 18 months after the fact has become public, whether the captain has been prosecuted, and whether the surgeon, who witnessed the whole, has been interrogated? I have much reason to doubt, that any thing of the kind has been done; for at the close of the year 1820, the Rodeur was refitted for an adventure of the same kind, under the same captain." Another circumstance he mentions as a corroboration of his doubts; in the copy which he then held in his hand was contained these "horrible words," "*thirty nine negroes were thrown overboard*," but that another copy had been issued with these words omitted, for the purpose, as he believes, "of obliterating the traces of a most atrocious crime." He thus concludes: "The traffic is still carried on, and carried on with impunity. The dates of the departures, of the purchases, of the arrivals, are known; advertisements are published, inviting persons to take shares in this trade. The only attempt at concealment, is to represent the purchase of slaves, as the purchase of *mules*, on the coast of Africa, where in fact there are no mules. The traffic is conducted with more cruelty than ever; because the slave captains to avoid detection, have recourse to the most atrocious expedients for getting rid of their captives. By the official reports relative to La Jeune Estelle, fourteen negroes were on board. The vessel was stopped and examined, but no negro could be found. A search was instituted, but in vain. At last a groan was heard issuing from a cask. It was opened, and two young girls from ten to fourteen years of age were found nearly suffocated within it. Several casks of the same form and dimensions had been previously thrown overboard." "I call upon you to unite with me in demanding the law which the minister has promised." "Above all, let thi law repress an abuse which the minister admitted last year, and which he appeared to regard as a thing quite natural. When the English capture and confiscate slave ships, they give freedom to the negroes; but on asking the minister what had been done with the negroes confiscated at Senegal, he replied that they had become the property of the government, and were employed in the works of the Colony. Truth, Gentlemen, discovers itself through this smooth expression: it is in fact saying, that in spite of promises, of

treaties, and of royal ordinances, the slave trade is carried on for the profit of the state. The government reaps the sanguinary fruits of the crimes which it punishes; and Africans, torn from their country in despite of the laws, are nevertheless made slaves."

In a speech delivered by the same person in the year 1822, he says, "I will not repeat the facts I adduced last year; unhappily, however, I can adduce new ones. I hold in my hand the judgment pronounced in the Vice Admiralty Court of the Mauritius in 1821, in the case of 'Le Succes,' and the correspondence found on board, duly authenticated, and which both develops the nature, and establishes the multiplicity, of the frauds that are practised by the slave traders. Were I to produce extracts from this correspondence, you would be astonished at the facts which it brings to light. You would then see the impunity, which in our colonies, those are certain of enjoying who violate the laws of humanity, and of their country. Nay, you would then find what is scarcely credible, and certainly, deeply to be deplored; that men invested with the office of judge, and charged to pronounce, in the name of the king, the sentence of the law, on this most execrable crime, do not scruple themselves to buy slaves of the very persons whom their duty and their oaths bind to condemn." "Why, I ask, is it that this trade, declared infamous as it is, by our own government, and proscribed by all the governments of Europe, is continued with such audaciousness? Is it because the laws are inadequate to its suppression?" "The miserable man who commits an act of common delinquency, incited to it perhaps by seeing his family starving, or the man who rashly utters some sentiment which is judged to be injurious, is subjected even after he has undergone a severe punishment, to a surveillance, to a privation of his civil rights; in short, to measures of precaution, which press heavily upon him for a long time after his crime has been expiated; whilst he who with premeditation, proceeds to traffic in the blood and sufferings of his fellow creatures, may, even after he has been convicted and condemned, march with his head erect, protected from the horror his crimes should inspire, and enjoying shamelessly the fruit of his infamous adventure."

The Duc de Broglie, in a speech delivered in the same year, having reviewed the history of the abolition of the African slave trade, and produced a variety of cases from official documents, shewing that it is still prosecuted by French citizens, notwithstanding their prohibitory laws, says, "France is the only nation that has not enforced the aboli-

tion of the slave trade, by the infliction of corporal and really serious punishments, and which has adopted no efficacious and really menacing measures for the prevention of the trade in slaves. Hence it happens that most of the capitals destined to be embarked in the slave trade, are directed towards France; from our ports are despatched most of the vessels, the object of whose speculations is to furnish slaves to the colonies of every other nation. There is reason to believe, that a certain degree of concert already exists, for placing these speculations under the protection of the French flag, and that we are now in a situation which enables us to make those who are disposed to purchase this odious immunity, pay dearly for it. That the French flag thus shelters the slave trade of foreigners; that it serves to protect English, Spanish, or Dutch merchants from the severities of the laws of their respective nations, is a misfortune of the existence of which we can no longer entertain a doubt. The French government is itself convinced of this fact."

"A letter, dated Demarara, August 18, 1820, and which forms part of the documents officially communicated to the English parliament, informs us, that the traffic in slaves which is carried on between the French Antilles and Africa, is not intended merely for the supply of those Islands, but that Martinique forms an intermediate mart, whence numerous cargoes of negroes are daily reshipped to Surinam and other colonies. This fact is moreover fully confirmed by the official reports made to the English government by its commissioners at Surinam. If such be the case already, when most of the laws of the different nations of Europe relative to the abolition of the slave trade have scarcely begun to be enforced, when those laws are yet imperfect, when the measures taken to carry them fully into effect are yet incomplete, what may be expected, when the union which exists among the different maritime powers, shall have consolidated and extended their operation? We see by the paper laid on the table of the English House of Commons, that an extensive traffic in slaves is still, in spite of the laws, carried on under the Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese flags; but we also see that numerous condemnations have already taken place; that the obscure and questionable points, which still favour fraud, are the subject of active correspondence and reciprocal adjustment between the above powers and England; that new decrees are issued when they are found necessary; and that the doubtful parts of the laws and treaties, are interpreted according to the generous and humane spirit which dictated them. In proportion therefore as the engagements of this

kind shall be strengthened between the United States, England, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal; in proportion as the means of repression shall be fortified by their influence on each other, and perfected by experience, the traffic carried on under the flags of those countries will become more and more hazardous; it will soon entirely cease; it will be concentrated under the French flag; our colonies will become a general mart where all other colonies may supply themselves as they wish, eluding by means of a short contraband voyage, the vigilance of the cruizers stationed on the coast of Africa; our ships will then become the universal vehicle of this universally proscribed, and universally detested commerce; and France will at length enjoy the execrable monopoly of a trade in human flesh and blood, of a trade which is the opprobrium of civilized ages and nations."

The following extracts from the 16th Report of the African Institution in 1822, will shew the state of the slave trade as conducted by the subjects of Portugal and Spain.

PORTUGAL.

"In this work of iniquity and devastation, Portugal still takes a prominent part. Her restrictive stipulations, have been attended with little benefit to Northern Africa, for they have continued to be most grossly and extensively violated by her subjects: some even of her public functionaries, governors of African colonies, have not scrupled by their own practice, openly to sanction the violation, and to set at nought the laws they were bound to execute. An active slave trade has been unceasingly carried on between the adjoining Continent and the Islands of Bissao and Cape de Verd. These Islands are used as depôts for the slaves taken thither in canoes and small vessels, by French and other slave traders, with the view of being afterwards removed to the Havanna, or to the French West India Islands. But it is to the rivers which run into the Bight of Benin, and into that of Biafra, that the Portuguese slave ships chiefly resort. Many such vessels, in the course of the last year, have been found there by his Majesty's ships, completely furnished with all the implements of their criminal traffic, and in a state of readiness to embark their human cargo.

"The ordinary course of proceeding adopted not only by the Portuguese, but by all the other slave traders (excepting

the French, who alone pursue their trade without the risk of capture) is to keep the slaves whom they purchase on shore, until the very day on which they may deem it safe to commence their voyage; and when they have ascertained that there are no cruizers in the way to obstruct their passage, they embark their cargo, and depart forthwith to their destined place of sale. Such, however, is the number of vessels engaged in this guilty commerce, that notwithstanding the facilities of escape thus afforded them, several Portuguese ships have been seized in the course of the last year, and condemned by the Mixed Commission Courts." p. 6.

In a report of commodore G. R. Collier, dated December 27, 1821, he says, "The Portuguese will cling to the slave trade as long as it shall be possible; the profits are so large as to induce all risks; and vessels of this nation range every part of the coast, whether north or south, enter every port and creek where a slave is to be purchased; and many small vessels under this flag are still employed in supplying the slave factories of Prince's Island and St. Thomas. Nothing can more strongly mark the indifference, the people who navigate the slave vessels of Spain and Portugal shew, to the miseries they inflict on the unfortunate Africans in their grasp, than the manner in which they crowd them on board their schooners.

"In two small vessels, the one only 73 and the other about 160 tons, captured nearly at the same time by the boats of the Tartar and Thistle, there were 700 slaves. The height of between-decks of these vessels was less than three feet; the slaves were all fettered in pairs, jammed (for so only can I speak when I describe their situation) one within the feet of the other. Fever, dysentery, and all the train of horrible diseases common to the African climate (increased by filth so foul, and stench so offensive as not to be imagined) had attacked many of them; and the evident consequences to greater part of the slaves, determined me to seek a remedy if possible. Several of the slaves died notwithstanding our best efforts; and I am fully persuaded, few of those captured would have lived, had I suffered those in fevers to remain in the filthy and putrid dungeons of the slave vessels." p. 83.

"In February, 1821, captain Finlaison of the Morgiana reported to me his having captured the Emilia, from Onim, in the Bight of Biafra, with 369 slaves, and that many other slave vessels had been seen in the Bight. The Portuguese master of the Emilia affirmed in my presence, that he came from Malembo, south of the line, though it is proved that

he left Onim only three days previously to his capture; and the *wounds from the hot irons on the breasts of the men, and on the bosoms of the women*, marking the property, being still fresh, gave further evidence of his falsehood." p. 99.

"The slave trade at Whydah is conducted to a very great extent by a Portuguese renegado, named de Souza, who, banished from the Brazils, has fixed himself at Whydah, where he is the agent or slave factor to the Brazilian nation, and lives in prodigious splendour; assumes the rights and privileges of a person in authority, granting papers and licenses to the slave traders, in all the forms and confidence of one empowered so to do by the Portuguese government. The extent of the slave trade at Whydah, may be judged of by the number of Portuguese vessels anchoring off this port and Lagos annually, being generally calculated at 100, and for no other purpose than to obtain slaves." p. 103.

A letter dated 27th of March, 1822, states, "An extensive trade appears to be kept up with the Cape de Verd Islands, from the Portuguese settlements of Cacheo and Bissao, and the slave traders at Cacheo have recently given their traffic in the Rio Grande, a new feature of barbarous atrocity. They visit this river in armed sloops and boats, and, landing during the night, carry off as many as they can of the unfortunate inhabitants." p. 86.

From the Sierra Leone Gazette, August 31, 1822. "The Portuguese schooner San José Hallacca, prize to Lieutenant Hagan of the Thistle, and condemned in the Mixed Court, affords a melancholy instance of the unfeeling and atrocious manner in which the slave trade is carried on to Leeward. This schooner, or rather schooner boat, did not measure 7 tons burthen, was only twenty-eight feet long, and the space over the water-casks, in which the miserable slaves in irons were stowed, was barely seventeen inches in height! From the information obtained by Lieutenant Hagan in the river Calabar, and corroborated by the evidence taken in this colony, it appears that 30 negroes were put on board this boat in the Calabar; that they were at sea nearly two months without being able to make Princes, when they put back to Calabar with the loss of ten negroes, literally starved and crushed to death. It was at this period the boats of the Thistle made the seizure, and rescued the remaining twenty from the grasp of Duke Ephraim, in whose possession they were. The state to which these poor creatures were reduced when received on board the Thistle, Lieutenant Hagan describes as most dreadful; the action of the irons on their arms and ankles, and the sores produced by the small casks

on which they were stowed, added to their extreme state of emaciation and debility, presented altogether such a spectacle of horror and suffering humanity, as that officer, long as he had been on this coast, never before witnessed.

SPAIN.

Although the Spanish government has given assurances of lending its assistance for effectually carrying into execution the treaties existing between her and Great Britain, for the abolition of the nefarious commerce, "As yet, however," says the report, "there has been no relaxation of that trade in Cuba and Porto Rico. Fewer vessels, indeed, have appeared on the African coast during the last year under the Spanish flag; but the importations into the Island of Cuba, especially under the flag of France, have been large; while the only attempt made there to check them, by bringing one of the vessels so employed before the Mixed Commission Court of that place, proved abortive. The whole number of Spanish slave ships condemned at Sierra Leone, by the Mixed Commission Court, has been eleven, of which three were condemned during the last year." p. 12.

G. R. Collier, in his report respecting Spain, says, "Although by her treaty she has relinquished the trade, her subjects infest the coast of Africa still; in the period of the rains they become most active; as then, to afford some protection to the crews of his Majesty's ships from the destructive consequences of the most unhealthful part of the season, these necessarily run to the Cape de Verds or Ascension. And I am quite satisfied, as suits the views of the Spanish slaving schooners, they at one time act as pirates against all vessels; then under the flag of Artigas, as South American cruizers; and then, when it shall better serve them, return to the practice of slaving; and a vessel under the South American flag, professing herself a cruizer, may wait a cargo of slaves off the port where they may be collecting, without power on the part of a British officer to prevent her doing so, but at the risk of his ruin." p. 83.

A communication from the Havanna, dated 1st of September, 1821, made by one of the Commissioners states, that "Twenty-six vessels have entered the port of Havanna with slaves, to the amount of 6,415 since the 31st of October, 1820, the period assigned by treaty for the total abolition of the Spanish slave trade. Of these vessels, 18 were Spanish, 5 French, 2 Portuguese, and 1 American. Not one of these has been judicially noticed by the government of the Island

On the contrary, the merchants declare, they received assurances that their vessels entering from Africa after the 31st of October, would not be molested. Six months from that time were mentioned as the extent of such immunity; but the 10th month has ended, and slave ships still enter openly and unquestioned. Certain it is, also, that vessels are still permitted to fit out for the slave trade, as well as to enter their cargoes from Africa; nor has any order, notice, or other public document been issued, declaratory of the disapprobation of this government, or an intention to enforce the abolition of the traffic. With respect to the preventive influence of the British and Spanish cruizers, it is to be observed, that since the residence of the Mixed Commissioners in this city, 95 slave ships have entered the port, (26 of them in open violation of the treaty) besides about 40 others in the miner parts of the Island, yet not one of these has been visited or detained by the cruizers of either power." p. 109.

"Vessels are publicly clearing out for Africa, whether in legitimate trade for gold dust and ivory, is a doubt that is only answered here by a smile. Two schooners are now fitting out in the harbour of Havanna, expressly for the slave trade. At Mantangas, Nuevitas, Trinidad, Barasoa, and Batabano, it is carried on with perfect impunity; and it is only ten days ago, that a cargo of negroes, landed at the latter port from a French brig, were publicly advertised for sale in the Havanna. The majority of the vessels that have lately sailed on the well understood voyage to the African coast, have cleared out for other destinations. Some to Montevideo, others to Teneriffe, Cape Verd Islands, and Prince's Island. The voyage is patronized by some persons of established credit, and accionistas (or share holders) are admitted to bear its charges. The shares are as low as 100 dollars, and are eagerly sought for. When the vessel returns from Africa, if the principal owners have sufficient weight and influence, she touches at Puerto Rico and provides herself with a passport, for the total or surplus cargo to this Island; thus removing all subsequent danger of seizure, under Article VII. of the instructions appended to the treaty of 1817. If she is without this, she directs her course through the Cayes, which lay round the north and south east part of the Island, into one of the bays on the coast. The cargo is frequently bespoken; if it is not, it is conveyed to the plantations of the consignee, and either sold from thence in parcels, or, as I have known in several instances,

marched to the Havanna, as the stock of a planter about to retire." p. 111.

By a subsequent despatch, dated 10th December, 1821, it appears that the Spanish members of the Mixed Commission, have received instructions from the government, "to carry punctually into effect, in all their proceedings, the stipulations of the slave trade abolition treaty, concluded between Great Britain and Spain in September, 1817"—"And that circular orders to the same effect have been received by the Captain General, the Admiral, and the Intendant, with directions to communicate the same to the several branches of their respective departments." p. 112.

It was but a few weeks prior to the date of the above despatch, that the British Commissioner transmitted with a communication from the Havanna, the following articles of intelligence, published in the official paper of that city, viz.

Departures of yesterday.

1. "For Africa, Spanish schooner Vienna, Captain Don Vincente Gomez, with goods for the slave trade.

2. "For the same destination, Spanish schooner Icanam, Captain Don Antonio Moreira, with ditto.

"The above vessels were openly and regularly cleared out at the Custom House, 'Para la Trata,' a term exclusively used in the Spanish islands to express par excellence the slave trade."

By these public notices, it is evident the prosecution of the slave trade must be with the knowledge and consent of the government; and notwithstanding the instructions just recited, to enforce the stipulations of the abolition treaty, the trade is still continued. In the fore part of the succeeding year, 3 Spanish vessels, one having 325 slaves on board, were condemned in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, and one other with 380 negroes, taken possession of by the Iphigenia, was unhappily upset in a tornado, and only 11 persons saved; 16 of the crew of the Iphigenia and 2 officers being among those lost. In addition to these, the following instance is a further proof of the facility with which such clearances are made at the Havanna, and of the indifference of the officers of that government respecting the abolition of this commerce.

From the Sierra Leone Gazette, October 12, 1822.

"British and Spanish Court of Mixed Commission, October 1st. Schooner Josefa, alias Maracagerca, Josef Mayona, master This vessel, of 90 Spanish tons burthen, with

a crew of 21 men, armed with one long 18 pounder, 21 muskets, nine cutlasses, 12 pikes and 6 pistols, with ammunition in proportion, cleared out from the Havanna on the 6th of April last for the coast of Africa, ostensibly for a cargo of ivory, wax, dyewoods, &c. The clearance was signed by the regular officer, 'Nicolas de Foro,' who signed a clearance for this same vessel, Don Juan Baptista Zavala being master, in August 1821, for a similar voyage. In this last mentioned clearance, it was stated that she was to land some 'free negroes' in Africa; but does not mention who or what they were, nor where to be landed. After leaving the Havanna, the Josefa called at the Gallinas on this coast, then at Grand Bassa, and finally entered the river Bonny, where her cargo was delivered, and a return cargo of slaves purchased. Whilst lying in that river, with water-casks full, platforms laid, and waiting for her cargo, she was boarded in the latter end of July, by Lieutenant Saumarez, in command of the boats of his Majesty's ship Driver; but there being no slaves actually on board, he was unwillingly obliged to leave her, after taking the precaution of endorsing her papers. She crossed the Bonny bar on the 18th of August, and was met the same day by the Driver, which had returned in search of her, and after a long chase, was captured at eight next morning, having on board 216 *slaves*, *all males*, *and with a small exception*, *all men*. Captain Woolrige immediately sent her to this place. The case being clear, the Commissioners passed sentence of condemnation without any remarks."

NETHERLANDS.

"In the supplementary report of last year, a detailed account was given of the manner in which the treaties and abolition laws of the Netherlands had been violated, by the large importation of slaves into Surinam, which had been openly permitted by the local authorities, and, in defiance of the remonstrances made by our government, with a view to put a stop to this breach of faith. In consequence of these remonstrances, the king of the Netherlands issued on the 21st of April, 1821, a new decree on the subject, which, though it professed to prohibit and punish the importation of slaves into Surinam, did in fact, only open the ports of that colony more widely for their admission; diminishing at the same time, instead of raising, the penalties attached to such importations as might still be deemed illicit. The attention of his Majesty's minister for Foreign Affairs was

early directed to this extraordinary decree. The result appears to be, that no effectual check has yet been put to the importation of slaves into the Dutch colonies. This statement is confirmed by a letter, dated from the colony in February last; the writer of which affirms, "that thousands of new negroes have been imported into Surinam, since the Mixed Commission had been sitting there; and that there was no doubt, the importation would be continued unless very strong and decisive measures were adopted." 16th report A. I. p. 13.

UNITED STATES.

The government of the United States, having declared that any of its citizens who engage in the slave trade, shall be adjudged pirates, and manifested a determination to carry the law into effect, this traffic under the American flag has very much ceased. But as the French nation has refused to permit vessels carrying their flag to be examined by the cruizers of others, and have adopted no efficient measures to prevent its abuse, there can be no doubt that this flag is often assumed, to cover the contraband traders of other nations. Although the instances of the assumption of the French or Spanish character by the citizens of the United States are not ascertained to be numerous, yet there are sufficient reasons to fear, that American capital and citizens are often protected in this illicit traffic by the flag of one or the other of these nations. The American cruizers having been restrained from visiting vessels under foreign flags, the number of slave ships sent into the United States for adjudication has been small.

The following extracts from official documents, together with those already presented, exhibit some of the facts connected with the slave trade as pursued by American citizens, and the part the government has taken in its suppression.

Extract of a communication on the state of the Slave Trade, made by E. Ayres, principal Agent for the Coast of Africa, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated Baltimore, February 24, 1823.

"To form a just estimate of the operation of the measures which have been made use of, it will be necessary to take a view of the state of that trade previous to the passage of the

late act of Congress declaring it piracy, and making it punishable by death.

"I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruizers, their short stay and seldom appearance, had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system, to gain intelligence of any cruizer being on the coast, and to conceal by false information their own condition. If an armed vessel approached the harbour, they could get intelligence in time to land their slaves, if any had been taken on board, and assume the character of a lawful trader, or avoid the track of the cruizer for the few days she remained on the coast, when she would return, seize her prey, and proceed in safety to the destined market without fear of molestation. This was the state of the trade previous to the late operations on the coast: but since the passage of the late law, and especially since planting a colony of Americans on that coast, it was thought our cruizers would have such facility in gaining immediate intelligence of the presence of traders being on the coast, and believing no doubt that the law was not an empty threat, but would be followed by a sufficient force kept there to carry the law into effectual operation, these vultures of human prey have thought it too hazardous to attempt, and have nearly abandoned the trade.

"There has been but one instance for the last two years, of sufficient hardihood to hoist the American colours in this inhuman trade. This one was the case of the schooner Dolphin of Charleston, Captain Pearson. A British officer of commodore Mends' squadron, boarded the Dolphin while lying in the Rio Pongos, fitted for the reception of slaves, and waiting, as I was informed, it appeared on her examination at Freetown, to take in her cargo; Pearson knowing the British would not capture, and believing himself secure, as there was no American armed vessel on the coast after the departure of the Alligator. Commodore Mends, who arrived on the coast shortly after the departure of Lieutenant Stockton, seeing the defenceless state of the trade in the absence of American cruizers, offered to re-

pair the Augusta, which had become unseaworthy for want of repairs, to arm her at his own expense; and place a lieutenant and 25 men on board under the command of Mr. Hunter, to cruize until the arrival of an American vessel. Should the capture be an American, Hunter was to take charge of her; if a vessel amenable to the laws of England, she was to be a prize to the British officer. Mr. Hunter accepted the offer, when Lieutenant Clarkson and the above complement of men were put on board. The Augusta was so far repaired as to enable her to proceed to the Rio Pongos. The Dolphin was taken possession of, and carried to Freetown, where an examination was had by the judicial authorities of that place; and it appearing that she was actually, in the opinion of the court, intending to carry slaves, though not recognizable by that court, Mr. Hunter determined to send her to the United States for adjudication. There being no naval officer on that station under whose charge he could place the prize, he engaged the mate of a vessel then in Freetown to take charge of her, with orders to proceed to New-York, in whose hands he placed a copy of the proceedings of the court, and the evidence taken on the case. This vessel, I am informed by the newspapers, arrived in Charleston, S. C. a short time before my arrival in this country.

"Hunter and Clarkson discovered a vessel lying in Gallinas harbour, Baltimore built with an American crew, but a nominal Danish Captain and under Danish colours, but without papers from any government. This vessel had 5 slaves on board, but when seeing the Augusta approach they were landed, and placed in a factory with 70 others, which they had just before began to place on board. This vessel was taken into custody and carried to Freetown, where she was examined in the Court of Mixed Commission, and condemned to the use of the captors. These two were the only cases of American vessels which were heard of on the coast for slaves during my stay in Africa. By subsequent arrivals, it appears, there have some few ventured since that time to take off cargoes of slaves."

Although our flag has nearly ceased to be disgraced by this inhuman traffic, it is yet to be feared that much American capital is still employed in the trade under the protection afforded by the French and Spanish flags, as some of our citizens have occasionally been heard of on board of French and Spanish vessels.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Edward Trenchard, of U. S. Ship Cyane, dated off the Gallinas, Western Coast of Africa, April 10, 1820.

"Having obtained information at Sierra Leone, that several vessels of a suspicious character were off the Gallinas, I immediately proceeded there; and early in the morning of the 5th of April, discovered 7 sail, 1 brig and 6 topsail schooners, close in shore. On perceiving us, they made all sail and stood off; it being nearly calm, I instantly despatched the Cyane's boats, properly officered and manned, in pursuit, who succeeded in taking possession, and bringing along side 6 of them, viz.

Schooner Dasher, Thomas Munro, Danish, from St. Eustatia.
Eliza, Constant Hastings, Martinico.
Brig La Anita, A. D. Pedro Puche, Matanzas.
Schooner Lorise, Francoine Sablon. do.
Esperanza, Lewis Mumfordt, Charleston, S. C.
Endymion of Baltimore, commanded by Alexander M'Kim Andrews, a midshipman in the U. S. service, as per naval register of 1820. The Esperanza and Endymion, I consider as lawful prizes, they being evidently American vessels engaged in the slave trade in contravention of the laws of the United States, passed April 20, 1818, and March 3, 1819, for the suppression of the traffic.

Midshipman Andrews commanding the Endymion, on perceiving the approach of the Cyane's cutter, attempted to make his escape to the shore in his boat, he was pursued, overtaken and brought on board. At first he assumed an air of indifference, and totally denied his vessel to be American, or his being concerned in the slave trade; but after finding we were in possession of his papers and going to make a prize of him, his confidence forsook him, and he acknowledged his vessel was American and engaged in the traffic of slaves. An investigation took place next morning by the commissioned officers of the Cyane, and Mr. M'Cann, coast pilot, authorized by me for the purpose, who reported that they considered the Endymion and Esperanza as lawful prizes; a copy of this report I have the honour to enclose. The others not exhibiting sufficient marks to identify them, I did not think proper to detain. On board of the Esperanza, was found a blank Spanish journal, on one of the leaves of which I found endorsed and signed by Sir G. R. Collier, commodore of his B. M. ship

Tartar, that he had fell in with her, and considered her to be an American vessel, engaged in the slave trade under colour of Spanish papers, that the owner was an American of the name of C. Radcliff, then on shore. I also was informed that one C. Radcliff (corresponding with the indorsement of Sir G. R. Collier on the Spanish journal) and another citizen of the United States, were about 6 miles in the interior of the country, with a horde of natives around them devoted to the service, who appeared to be chief agents in the purchase of slaves, but unapproachable from the nature of the country and hostility of the inhabitants towards vessels of war, under an apprehension instilled into them by slave dealers, that ships of war interrupt the commerce, and are unfriendly towards them. In fact I have no doubt, but there is at present collected near the coast, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of unhappy victims destined for slavery; and property to a large amount deposited on shore in exchange for them, only waiting an opportunity to accomplish their purpose. I must however remark, that all the vessels hovering on this coast, are similar in respect to size, fitments, and general appearance, sharp built, and no doubt American built vessels, in general topsail schooners."

Lieutenant Stockton of the U. S. schooner Alligator, having taken possession of 4 schooners on the African coast, and ordered them to the U. S. for adjudication; in the account of the capture, and the facts proving the character of the vessels, transmitted to the Navy Department, dated May 27, 1821, he has the following observations:—

"All these facts can be established, yet it is possible there may be some difficulty in persuading men generally, to believe in the adroitness and fraud with which this trade is prosecuted. They have almost reduced it to a science, and heretofore in the disguise of Frenchmen, and with the facilities afforded them in the West Indies, have made certain calculations with regard to their success, laughing at the exertions of all christendom to put an end to it. They will stand convicted by their own testimony. Though my cruize has not been conspicuous or successful; though I have not given actual liberty to more than two slaves, still I have great satisfaction in the reflection, that I have procrastinated the slavery of some eight hundred, and broken up this horrible traffic to the northward of Cape Palmas for at least this season."

At the request of the Secretary, he furnished a statement containing a more minute detail of his reasons for making

said captures, from which the subjoined extracts are taken, viz:

"The U. S. schooner Alligator under my command, arrived on the coast of Africa in the month of May last, 1821, near the mouth of the river Pongos; from this place we proceeded to Sierra Leone, where we were informed that there were several vessels on the coast further south trafficking for slaves. On this information I immediately proceeded to the river Gallinas; in my passage thither I boarded a small sloop, which left the Gallinas on the morning of that day, and was informed by her that there were two schooners lying in that river, for the purpose of receiving slaves on board; I found one of the schooners there at anchor, and took possession of her. She was represented to be La jeune Eugené, and I ordered her to the U. S. She has, as you are informed, arrived at Boston, and will there be tried in the usual course. Proceeding still southwards, we arrived at Triton, or Tradetown, where I took possession of three other schooners, viz. La Daphnéé, La Matilda and L'Elize, and ordered them also to the U. S. These three vessels were afterwards recaptured by a revolt of their original officers and crews, and have never arrived in the U. S. I shall now proceed to shew in each case, the evidence relative to the occupation and character of these vessels. I will begin with the La Daphnéé. This schooner was taken possession of in the afternoon of the 24th of May, 1821, in the road of Triton, or Tradetown. I had received information from a person at Grand Bissa, whom I had sent down the coast to collect intelligence with regard to such vessels as were trading there, that there was a cargo of slaves collected at Tradetown for a schooner lying in the roads, the mate of which was on shore preparing them for embarkation; and that they would be sent on board the night of the next day. I left Bissa, calculating to arrive at Tradetown at or about the time the slaves would have been embarked on board the schooner. On my approach to Tradetown, I descried two schooners lying in the roads, which proved to be La Daphnéé and La Matilda; the former of which had a French flag flying at her main, and a Dutch flag at the foremast head, the latter having a French flag at her main. I entered and anchored in the roads without boarding or molesting either of these vessels, whose movements it was my object to observe. Some short time after coming to an anchor, the commanding officer (Mr. Guoy) of La Daphnéé, came on board of the Alligator, mistaking her for La jeune Eugené Such information was obtained from him before the discovered his mis-

take, as confirmed the previous account I had received, and left no doubt that La Daphnéé was engaged in the slave trade. I was satisfied from the external appearance of this vessel, that she was an American bottom, and of that description of vessels called, by way of distinction, Baltimore built vessels: and being fully convinced she was concerned in the slave trade, I presumed of course the colours she had hoisted were assumed for the occasion, and not true; for it was well understood that the slave trade had been denounced by both nations whose protection she appeared to claim. I therefore took possession of her, and found her to be an American built schooner of about 120 tons, as near as I could judge. She was said by Mr. Gouy to be commanded by a Captain Allaine, but that he (Mr. Gouy) had at that moment the command of her. She had two decks; the lower, or birth deck, was such as vessels in this trade are usually provided with, and the upper deck furnished with gratings for the admission of air and light, and secured by bars and locks. Slave ships are known usually to have such decks, and as no other mercantile vessels are provided with them, the inference is manifest. Again, the extraordinary supply of water and rice which was on board, is itself deemed convincing evidence of her occupation: there was a quantity on board equal to 5 or 6000 gallons, obviously out of all proportion to the possible wants of the crew. In the next place, the number of her crew being 19, greatly exceeded the ordinary complement of that size, if engaged in a lawful trade. Shackles for slaves and other moveable articles were not expected to be found on board, for it was understood to be the practice of slave ships, to land such articles at the time of arrival. From a consideration of the past circumstances, which I have now mentioned, it seemed impossible to doubt the business of this vessel. Subsequent discoveries prove, that in relying on them, I did not deceive myself, or come to any wrong conclusion. She appeared to have cleared from Point a Petre (Guadaloupe) for Prince's Island in the Gulph of Guinea, whither she had not been, nor had she been south of Cape Palmas, as I was informed by the officers and crew. Part of the cargo had been landed, and of that which remained on board, consisting of rum, tobacco, small arms, gunpowder, &c. a considerable proportion, in being compared with the manifest or clearance, was not included in that document. A number of memoranda shewing the reception or disposal of negroes, male and female, and two letters establishing the fact of her being engaged in the slave trade, were found among

her papers. One of these letters was from Captain Allaine, the ostensible captain of the vessel, to Mr. Gouy, who was the officer in command at the time of seizure, dated May 12th, 1821, urging despatch in making preparation for the reception of slaves, and reminding him of the proximity of the sickly season. The other letter was from Mr. Labalette, the officer who was on shore purchasing, to the above named Mr. Gouy, dated May 22d, 1821, relative to the number of slaves the Daphnéé could carry, and stating that there were then on shore 190, ready to be embarked on board La Matilda, the other schooner that has been alluded to as lying in the same roadstead. There was another letter found on board in possession of the captain of the Matilda, addressed by Mr. Gouy to Mr. Pisten or some other person at Guadaloupe, in which he states the success of the enterprise, and the number of slaves La Daphnéé would probably carry. It seems this letter was sent on board La Matilda, she being on the eve of her departure for the West Indies, having her slaves prepared for embarkation. The confession of Mr. Gouy, after his seizure, that La Daphnéé had come to the coast for slaves, was a corroboration of the truth of the circumstances that had induced me to take possession of her. The captain was landed at Cape Messurada, some distance to the northward of Tradetown. The absence of Captain Allaine and one of his officers (Mr. Labalette) was accounted for by supposing it to be for the purpose of procuring slaves. Mr. Labalette was on shore at Tradetown for the same purpose; and the vessel after having received them that were procured by Mr. Labalette, was to go to Cape Messurada for the purpose of receiving on board Captain Allaine and the rest of his complement. There were found on board some permits to receive part of her cargo, stating her to be a Dutch vessel, under the command of Captain Fromentin, which double set of papers seemed to account for her having flags of two nations flying at the same time. On the morning after her seizure, two slaves were delivered on board, but suspecting all was not right, the person who brought them jumped overboard and escaped to the shore. Three slaves were left on board La Daphnéé to the care of Lieutenant Inman, who was charged with the duty of conducting her to the U. S. These evidences were recorded at the time of her seizure, and the original papers were intended to be transmitted to the U. S. in the schooner, but her recapture prevents them being produced; but the principal circumstances are confirmed by the extract of a letter addressed by Lieutenant Inman to me after his arrival

in the U. S. In allusion to the conduct of the vessel and her commander, he says, that after her recapture 'He immediately bore up, hoisted the white flag at the main, and made sail to the northward and eastward; they were so fortunate as with a very favourable gale to reach Triton in 50 hours. They anchored on the morning of the 12th: Mr. Labalette the chief mate came on board, and assured us we had nothing to fear; that we should be landed on the coast for a few days, and gave us his word of honour we should not be left there. We were immediately landed, and received by Mr. Tallon, mate of the Matilda: he assured us that we should not be molested, led us to his house, and during the 14 days we remained, we were well treated by him and Labalette, who sent the Daphnée to cruize. Tallon had his complement of 250 slaves ready when the Matilda left Triton. Labalette had 160, and Allaine was at Messurada collecting the remainder. In the course of our stay, the schooner Point a Petre called at Triton and took part of Tallon's cargo which she bought, and part in consideration of slave for slave as freight. In 14 days La Daphnée returned, the slaves embarked, and she proceeded to Messurada. Captain Allaine then brought the residue of the slaves on board, and after disposing of the men as above, we made sail for Guadaloupe, off which place we arrived the 27th of July. This cargo was landed in a few moments at the town of St. François, and Captain Allaine, who was very ill on the passage, went on shore. They immediately made sail for St. Barts. Such are the proofs with regard to the real object of La Daphnée's voyage to the coast of Africa. I will now proceed to the national character of this vessel. It is asserted that she is a French vessel, bona fida owned by French subjects. In the first place it may be observed, that the character of this vessel cannot be safely taken from the representation of those who were found navigating her. If it be said, she bore a French flag, and possessed French papers; it may be answered in the first place, that she also bore a Dutch flag, and possessed Dutch papers; and, if it had suited the occasion, she could have set up a Dutch character with as much plausibility as she now sets up a French character. Both of these characters cannot truly belong to her, one or the other (if not both) must be assumed and false. If a slave vessel be found on the coast, she may be expected of course to bear the flag of some nation, which has not a naval force at hand to suppress it. It would be vain to expect an American vessel engaged in the slave trade, to hoist an American flag at her mast head, while she knew there

was an armed vessel cruizing in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of capturing all vessels of this description found so engaged. It may be observed, that less even than ordinary weight can be given to the papers in this case, as they appeared to be false in most or all of those particulars, in which their truth or falsehood could be ascertained. It appeared by the statement of their crew, that instead of entering upon, or pursuing any such voyage as her papers expressed, viz. from Point Petre to Prince's Island, she proceeded from Point Petre to St. Thomas in the West Indies, then received on board a cargo exactly suited to the slave market, but which was not described in any invoice, bill of lading, or other paper on board, and then proceeded to the place where she was found trafficking for slaves. This deviation from her ostensible voyage, or rather this adoption and prosecution of an entirely different voyage, being not mentioned at all in her log book, or any other papers, but on the contrary, purporting to describe a direct voyage from Point Petre to the coast of Africa. These are among the reasons which led to the conviction that no faith or credit ought to be given to her papers. Under these circumstances, it appeared, that the only just mode of ascertaining the character of the vessel, was to recur to her history and origin; and it being clear and admitted, that she was originally an American vessel, it appeared to me that character must be considered as adhering to her, until she should produce some credible evidence of a change of character. There was no bill of sale, or other instrument of transfer produced, or any account of the time, place, or manner of the sale and purchase of the vessel. The only paper in relation to this part of the case, was the formal French paper, called the act of francisation, which for the reasons above set forth, being unaccompanied by any actual proof, was thought not sufficient authentication of the alleged fact of sale. It may be added, that there was found on board no invoice, bill of lading, charter party, or other paper, stating who owned the goods, or on whose account the ship sailed or the goods carried. Finding then a fast sailing schooner, built in the U. S. proceeding to Guadaloupe, there falsely pretending to commence a lawful voyage to Prince's Island, but immediately proceeding to a slave market, and producing no bill of sale or other instrument of transfer of the property, it seemed impossible to entertain any other belief, than that her original character of an American vessel still belonged to her."

The circumstances of La Matilda, and the arguments used to shew her character and object, are very similar with the preceding. In addition, Lieutenant Stockton says, "When the commander of the Matilda found we had so completely fixed upon him the object of his voyage, he acknowledged that we had two good prizes, alluding to his own vessel, and La Daphnéé lying in company, and offered to ransom La Matilda, and give a bill of exchange on St. Thomas for the amount; and Mr. Gouy, the officer found in command of La Daphnéé, offered to remain as a hostage to secure the acceptance of the bill."

"I will observe, however, in further confirmation of the want of integrity as respects the Matilda's national character, that only three persons of her whole crew, including officers, were subjects of the French government."

The following is stated by Lieutenant Stockton, in his proofs of the character of L'Elizé. "The subsequent evidence of her own crew, shewed that I was not mistaken or misled by appearances against her. They said that L'Elizé had been lying some time in the Gallinas, in company with La jeune Eugené. It was said by them that L'Elizé was fitted and went to the coast for a cargo of slaves, and that Captain Oliver went on shore at the Gallinas, taking in the boat with him the shackles, and what they called the big boiler; and that the schooner was sent down the coast for the purpose of procuring wood and water, and to lay the other deck on which the slaves were to live It was stated also by her crew, that Maristine the captain of La jeune Engené was at the Gallinas also, and that he and Captain Oliver had purchased some slaves before the departure of L'Elizé.

"La Eugené was boarded and taken possession of on the night of the 18th of May, 1821. She was found to be an American built vessel of about 120 tons, in all respects prepared for the reception and accommodation of slaves; the decks laid, water stowed, and gratings for the admission of light and air, with a large quantity of rice and water on board. The roll d'equipage shewed a crew of 21 souls, an extraordinary number of men for a vessel of her class.

"I will observe, that although in her papers it is admitted that she was built in the U. S. they could not shew any legal proof of a transfer from her original owners. Instead of pursuing the direct and only voyage authorized by her papers, viz. to the coast of Malaquette, she went direct to the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. Her log book distinctly states this fact, and that the crew was employed

being Sunday 25th February, 1821, in loading the vessel, of which lading, as to species or quantity, there was no account, and the work was continued until the 28th following, when she got under way to pursue her voyage, but to what destination is not shown by any paper on board, nor is there any document authorizing her departure from St. Thomas. Here too it will be found that another name has been added to the roll of equipage without any sufficient verification thereof. The route of this vessel is distinctly traced by the log-book, to almost the very spot in which we find her, and on the 9th of April, it is noted that she was anchored in 10 fathoms water off the Gallinas, where her captain and others proceeded in a boat to the shore, and remained until the 13th, when they came back with boats and canoes and commenced landing their cargo, (what cargo?) the cargo plainly that was gotten at St. Thomas, and a part of which consisting of gunpowder and muskets are now on board of her. The officer in command of the vessel declares that on discovering us, he made preparations to repel every attempt that would be made to discover who or what he was; an evidence sufficiently conclusive as to the nature of the business in which he was engaged."

The French minister remonstrated against the conduct of Lieutenant Stockton, in making prize of these vessels which he affirmed were French: only one of them arriving in the United States, he demanded that she should be given up, asserting, at the same time he deprecated the traffic, that it was the right of the French government, to judge of the conduct of its own subjects, and to punish their infractions of its laws. Although the conduct of Lieutenant Stockton was approved, the schooner, in compliance with the demand of the French minister, was restored.

The following circular, issued from the Navy Department, dated November 6, 1820, was directed to the marshals and district attorneys of Maine, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersy, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. "In the execution of the Act of Congress, approved 3d March, 1819, respecting the slave trade, several captures of Africans have been made by the cruizing vessels and revenue cutters of the United States. To carry the acts of Congress into full effect, it becomes necessary that this department, which is charged with this duty, be informed of all the cases of capture, and of the whole number of blacks delivered over within your district, and how they are disposed of, or may

be subject to the order of the President of the United States. I request therefore, the above information as soon as convenient."

In reply to which, William Crawford, district attorney, in a letter dated St. Stephens, Alabama, July 2, 1820, to S. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, states, "no Africans have been brought into that state since 3d March, 1819. About 100 captured and brought in, in May and June 1818, and in the hands of the marshal."

"New Orleans, December 13, 1820. J. Nicholson, marshal, states, no information on the subject of blacks illegally introduced into Louisiana."

"New York, November 13, 1820. R. Tillotson, district attorney, states, schooners Endymion, Esperanza, Plattsburgh and Vienna, sent in, two first condemned, and one sold as violating the laws prohibiting the slave trade, the others not decided." The Plattsburgh has since been condemned. See notes of 16 Rep. A. I.

"Baltimore, November 14, 1820. Elias Glenn, states, information filed against H. H. Ford, of the General Artigas, for having imported 12 negroes contrary to law. Negroes delivered to the marshal, 10 of them in jail, and 2 made their escape."

When vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the U. S. have decreed for them. Heavy charges have been produced on account of the keeping of captured Africans during the intervals between their landing and re-embarkation for Africa or other disposition of them. These difficulties are illustrated by the following correspondence, obtained from the navy department, which, while it manifests the zeal of the officers of government to enforce the laws, also further developes the moral turpitude produced by the practice of dealing in human flesh and blood.

Charleston, July 18, 1819. Thomas Parker, district attorney, after stating defects of the law in regard to a provision for the support of Africans captured, or illegally imported and abandoned, no claimant appearing: says, "I have received information from a person who will not be seen in the business, that upwards of 100 of the same parcel (of which he had previously stated 4 to be in jail, under care of the marshal,) were offered to him to be conveyed into the

country on certain conditions. I have been well informed of one or two cases, in which the first party imported Africans contrary to law and hid them in the woods, the second party robbed the first, and the third the second, and the negroes could not be traced."

In a letter from the Navy Department, dated 1st April, 1820, the Secretary directs (M. M'Ilwain, j.) the marshal of South Carolina, to place some Africans in his custody, at service, where they will be treated with kindness and humanity, and safely kept, until they can be removed, pursuant to the act of 3d March, 1819.

From the marshal of South Carolina, Charleston, May 9, 1820; to the Secretary of the Navy. "In pursuance of the instructions received from your department, I have endeavoured to place the Africans who are in my custody, in the service of some discreet and humane person, who would treat them with humanity and indulgence, and allow something for their labour. I have not succeeded, neither do I see any prospect of succeeding, because there is no service in which they could be employed, that their employer could derive much advantage from their labour, at most, the advantage would not be equivalent to the trouble that might reasonably be expected from them. Since writing the above, I have received the following communication from Mr. Parker."

"Charleston, May 13, 1820. On the subject of four Africans now in jail, I am willing to receive them on the following conditions: I will carry them to my plantation, 16 miles from this city, where I will house, clothe and feed them as I do my own, but I will not agree to pay the physician's bill, nor be answerable for them, should they run away, or be *stolen*. As to running away, it is not probable they will do so, as none of my own have ever run from me. As to their being stolen, there is some risk of its being done, in case the importer should find out where they are, as such things have already been done in Charleston, and therefore the place to which they may be sent, must remain a secret. But should the above Africans refuse to work or be dissatisfied with their condition, I shall claim the right of restoring them to you, as such conduct in the first particular would injure my own slaves, and in the second I would not be compensated by any little services they might perform."

THOMAS PARKER.

A letter to the marshal of Charleston, S. C. dated December 15, 1820, directs him to send the liberated negroes in his possession to Norfolk, in order to be shipped on board the brig Nautilus, for Africa, under the care of J. B. Winn or E. Bacon. The number appears to have been four.

Extract of a letter from Judge William Johnson, to the Secretary of State, dated Charleston, S. C. June 12, 1821.

"When I was last at Washington, I was requested by the President, to furnish him with information respecting the situation of the several gangs of slaves, which have been at various periods introduced into Georgia.

"The first capture by Captain Elton, consisting of about 130, were delivered up to the original Spanish claimant, under a bond to transport them beyond the limits of the U. S. But I am informed, and doubt not the practicability of proving, that whilst yet within the state of Georgia they were purchased by a citizen of that state, and now residing on the Savanna river; if so, they were illegally purchased, and he is liable to a heavy penalty.

"Not conceiving it consistent with my situation to have any influence on prosecutions, until officially brought to my notice, it will rest with the President, whether he will give any instructions to the district attornies on the subject. I should think it myself an object, to make it very unsafe for our citizens to soil their hands with such purchases. The slaves, it is understood, have been transported to East Florida, and are now there,—more probably they have been smuggled back.

"The next parcel brought into the state, were those, concerning which Governors Clark and Mitchel are now publicly maintaining a discussion, of whom you will recollect the state of Georgia sold a portion, and 60 or 80 still remain in the hands of the constituted authorities of that state—These are now in Milledgeville, and are ready to be delivered up to the Colonizing Society upon the payment of about 1200 dollars, expenses said to have been incurred by the state. This sum, the Society either has refused, or is unable to refund; or perhaps they are of opinion, that a part of the money raised from the sale of the residue ought to be applied to the expenses of those remaining unsold.

"The last parcel introduced, consisted of about 280 seized the last year on the coast of Florida by the Revenue Cutter, in a vessel called the Antelope or General Ramirez. The sickly summer carried off about 50 of them, and the rest of

them are distributed in the neighbourhood of Savanna, to various individuals, under the superintendance of the marshal. God knows how they are treated, but we have no other mode of disposing of them; they work for their maintenance. Twenty-five of these were taken by the Artigan privateer, that claims them, from on board the American schooner Exchange, said to have been owned in Bristol, R. Island, and found slaving on the African coast. The rest were taken by the privateer from Spanish and Portuguese vessels, and as the privateer was fitted out in the great officina, Baltimore, I have ordered them to be restored. The twenty-five taken from the Exchange, I have adjudged free, and they will await the orders of the Executive."

Letter from R. W. Habersham, District Attorney, dated Savanna, 18th July, 1821; to the Secretary of State.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 7th of July inst. in which you state that information had been received by the Executive, that one hundred and thirty slaves, captured by Captain Elton, were, while yet within the state of Georgia, purchased by a citizen of the state of Georgia, residing on the Savanna river, in violation of the 5th and 7th sections of the act of Congress of 20th April, 1818, and that the facts are susceptible of proof, and that should I upon proper enquiry, find that to be the case, I am to institute a prosecution for the due execution of the law.

"There were three cargoes captured and brought in by Captain Elton, those of the Syuna, Politina, and Tentativa. The then marshal having, as I understand, refused to take charge of the negroes, they were delivered out on bonds. Of the first cargo in the Syuna, twenty-four were delivered to B. M'Kinne, for which number he gave a bond, conditioned for the forthcoming of the negroes when an order should issue from the Admiralty court to that effect. Such an order did issue, and fifteen of that number were delivered to the agent of the claimants, and were by him transported to Florida, as appears by affidavits and certificates filed in the Admiralty. The other nine it also appears by affidavits filed, died while in possession of Mr. M'Kinne. In the case of the Tentativa, B. M'Kinne and Co. appear to have been the agents of Gobel the Spanish claimant, in whose favour the decree went. In this case the negroes were delivered out to sundry persons. B. M'Kinne and Co., gave their bond to account for thirty-one, the original number of

the cargo landed being one hundred and two. It appears however that M'Kinne must have received others afterwards, for the marshal returns to the attachments issued at my instance out of the admiralty, that he had received out of this cargo, from B. M'Kinne, thirty-eight; from Thomas N. Morel, thirty; from N. S. Bullock, twenty-four; from Boyce, one; making ninety-three in all. The remaining nine are reported dead. The ninety-three so returned to the marshal were afterwards delivered to G. W. Denton, one of the firm of B. M'Kinne and Co., for transportation, and it appears by certificates and affidavits, filed in the admiralty, that they were actually landed in Florida by Denton. In the case of the Politina, nineteen appear to have been delivered to B. M'Kinne and Co., and afterwards to have been transported to Florida by them, in consequence of the proceedings in the admiralty, to compel such transportation. It then appears that M'Kinne has actually transported beyond the then limits of the United States, all the negroes which he received. It also appears that nearly all the surviving negroes of those three cargoes, have been, under the orders of the admiralty court, removed to Florida. Certificates of the removal of the remainder have not yet been furnished, the time for the return under the attachments having been extended by the court, to enable the parties to procure the necessary documents. This number, however, is small. What private understandings may have existed among the parties interested in the several cases, as to the ultimate property in these negroes, it is impossible to say, nor do I see any mode by which evidence could be procured, to establish in a court of justice, the fact of a purchase or sale. Such arrangements are probably only known to those engaged, and who would be criminated by a disclosure. The negroes delivered to B. M'Kinne, were as I understand, placed on his plantation, upwards of one hundred miles from this place in the interior, and I am inclined to think that the information given, is founded on a mistake, arising from the circumstance, that a number of new negroes were in possession of M'Kinne, without the further information, that they actually came into his possession under bonds as above stated.

"I am informed that about forty of these negroes are now in Florida, in the actual possession of G. W. Denton, the former partner and co-agent with M'Kinne, of the claimants. That negroes have been introduced into the state, in violation of the law, that such negroes have been sold, that there has been illegal trafficking in those brought in by Captain

Elton, are facts, of which there can be but little doubt. At the same time I would remark, that the gentlemen who received the negroes of the Tentativa, and whose names are above mentioned, appear to have acted fairly and honourably, in the re-delivery of the negroes in their possession to the marshal under the orders of the court. Notwithstanding the belief which prevails, that the laws of the United States have been violated in the particulars above specified, yet there never has been an affidavit delivered into my office to that effect. A great majority of the people are, no doubt, opposed in principle to the slave trade, and the officers of the government here, would act with promptitude and zeal in its suppression, if such information could be procured as would authorize them to act."

Extract of a letter from Richard W. Habersham, District Attorney, dated 17th August, 1821, to the Secretary of the Navy.

"It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders (alluding to those engaged in the illegal importation of slaves,) after the negroes have been landed in the state, particularly in this neighbourhood, where so many of the cargo of the Ramirez are out upon bond, and daily about the streets of the city. For they so soon learn the language and become assimilated in every respect to the other negroes, that it is almost impossible in a very short time to discriminate between them. Hence, unless the detection is made at the moment of landing, it is almost hopeless to expect that it will be made afterwards."

"A letter from John H. Morell, marshal, dated Savanna, September 29, 1821, states that sixteen of the crew of the Ramirez, and two belonging to other vessels, were ready for delivery to the President of the United States. A letter from the Navy Department, dated April 8, 1822, directs J. H. Morell, to send all the captured Africans in his possession to Norfolk or Baltimore; the latter to be preferred, in order that they may be re-exported to Africa. They appear, eighteen in number, to have been sent to Baltimore, and the marshal is authorized by letter dated May 4, 1822, to deliver them to the agent of the Colonization Society, and pay their passage, ten dollars each, the amount of which shall be repaid upon producing the receipt."

Navy Department, March 28th, 1823: to R. W. Habersham, District Attorney, Georgia. "The Honourable Judge Johnson has directed in relation to the Africans now in the custody of the marshal of Georgia, that as the decree of the court below was in favour of the claimants, they were entitled to the preference of taking them on bond, but that he should make the order in the alternative; viz. that if the bond was not given in a limited time, the said Africans should be delivered to my order. Be pleased to attend to this matter, and as early as practicable, have the Africans delivered to W. C. Daniell, Esq. conformably with the instructions given to you the 21st January last."

R. W. Habersham's reply, dated 17th April, 1823. "Your communication relative to the disposition of the Africans of the cargo of the General Ramirez, has been received. The claimants having complied with the order of Judge Johnson, by giving the bonds required within the time specified, the negroes were all delivered to them or their agents. The alternative of the order therefore cannot be effected."

An attempt having been made by the government of the United States, to form a settlement on the African coast for the reception of captured negroes, the result, so far as it was then known, will be seen by the following extract of an account of its commencement and progress drawn up by D. E. Ayres, the present agent for liberated Africans, viz:

To the Honourable Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy of the United States.

SIR,

"In pursuance of the authority vested in him by an act passed the 3d day of March, 1819, in addition to an act for the suppression of the slave trade, the president of the United States proceeded to appoint two agents to reside on the coast of Africa; there to receive and provide for all captured Africans, who might be delivered into their custody by cruizers of the United States, or who might be returned to that country, having been 'seized, captured, or brought into the United States,' under the provision of that act.

"The ship Elizabeth sailed from New-York on the 6th of February, 1820, carrying out the Rev. Samuel Bacon, principal agent, and John P. Bankson, assistant agent, appointed by the president, with thirty effective labourers and mechanics, their wives and children, to be employe din this work. The special instructions delivered to Mr. Bacon, are not

now in the possession of your agent; but in pursuance of the instruction he received, he proceeded to Sierra Leone, and after obtaining an experienced pilot, and procuring all the information of the coast in his power, he determined to effect a temporary settlement at Sherbro.

"He proceeded with the ship Elizabeth and the schooner Augusta, which he had found it necessary to purchase; and on the 18th of March, 1820, came to an anchor about twenty-three miles from Sherbro; being as near as the pilot thought advisable to approach the shore. A temporary residence was obtained of John Kizell at Canpalar; and negociations were opened with the kings and head men for a tract of land on the river Bagroo. Prospects of obtaining a permanent settlement being so favourable, Mr. Bacon proceeded to discharge the cargo and dismiss the ship Elizabeth. Unfortunately for the cause, both the agents, a midshipman and seven sailors, sent from the U. S. ship Cyane, to their relief, together with several of the labourers, fell victims to the bad water, and confined situation of the place, soon after landing. By the death of Mr. Bacon, the negociations for the Bagroo tract were interrupted, and after repeated trials by the subsequent agents entirely failed.

"Daniel Coker, a coloured man, on the death of Mr. Bacon, had become invested with the agency for captured Africans, and had all authority in his own hands. After long and repeated exertions to get a grant of lands from the natives, some time previous to the 25th of September, of the same year, he embarked in the Augusta, with such of the labourers as put sufficient confidence in him to follow his fortunes, and proceeded to Sierra Leone. He took with him great part of the provisions, clothing, and merchantable articles, that were left in his charge at the death of Mr. Bacon.

"When Coker left the Sherbro for Sierra Leone, the labourers were left without an agent, and nearly destitute of provisions or clothing; sick, dispirited, and almost despairing of any further assistance from this country. Some of them believing the object that brought them out to be entirely abandoned, proposed dividing the property left by Coker in the storehouse, among themselves; and each one seeking the best accommodations he might find among the the natives. The preservation of the property which remained at this time, is owing to the prudent conduct, principally, of Elijah Johnson, and Joseph Blake, two of the coloured labourers; who stepped forward to protect it and preserve order, until they should be relieved from their difficulties by an arrival, anxiously hoped for, from this country

They appointed magistrates, instituted regulations, and maintained order, until they were timely relieved by the arrival of Mr. Winn. The people were then transported to Fourah Bay, with great part of the property. On my arrival at that place in November of the same year, finding that some of the property still remained at Sherbro, I despatched the schooner Augusta, and brought away all that could be found.

"Information having been received of the death of the agents, and the failure of the attempt to carry the law into execution in Africa; it being necessary to appoint other agents, to procure a residence and to carry out five captured Africans, who had been delivered over by the government to be returned to their native land; Mr. J. B. Winn, and Mr. E. Bacon, were appointed for that purpose, and sailed from Norfolk in January 1821, with twenty-eight effective labourers and their families, and the above mentioned five captured Africans in addition to the labourers and mechanics before taken out; with instructions 'to proceed to the coast of Africa, and upon landing at or near Sierra Leone, to ascertain the state of the persons who were left at Sherbro the preceding year, and afford them such relief as their circumstances might require, and then proceed to make an establishment either in Sherbro, or upon such parts of the coast as shall appear to be most eligible for the purposes contemplated by their appointment.'

"In pursuance of these orders the agents lost no time after arriving in Sierra Leone, in gaining an interview with the colonial authorities of Freetown, and after a free and candid exposition of the wishes and views of the agents, which was as fully and frankly met on the other part; the agents agreed to relinquish all claim on the Bagroo, on condition of having accorded to them, for a reasonable compensation, a suitable reception for the labourers and mechanics, and liberty to land the property and reship it again, free of duty, when a suitable situation should be obtained. These preliminaries being entered into, and a place selected at Fourah Bay, the property was landed. The agents then turned their attention to the examination of the coast, and selection of a more suitable situation for a permanent settlement. Mr. Bacon, and the Rev. J. R. Andrews, were selected for that duty, and finally entered into a contract with the natives of Grand Bassa, for a tract of country in that vicinity. Shortly after the return of Bacon and Andrews from down the coast, Mr. Bacon was attacked with the fever of the season, and returned to the United States. Mr. and

Mrs. Winn, soon fell victims to their indefatigable exertions in the duties of their office, the whole of which then devolved upon C. Wiltberger, who had taken passage in the Nautilus, as sub-agent of the Colonization Society. In this lamentable state were affairs found by your present agent, when he arrived at Fourah Bay, in the capacity of physician to the captured Africans, and agent of the Colonization Society. From the death of Mr. Winn, on the 25th of August, 1821, Mr. Wiltberger continued to act as agent for government until the 2d of April, 1822, when the whole duties devolved on your present agent.

"Our stock of clothing and most articles of provision had been either exhausted or spoiled, and we were under the necessity of purchasing in Freetown.

"Finding upon my arrival at Fourah Bay, your agent dead, and his successor unable from four months indisposition, to perform the duties devolving upon him, and the ultimate object of the expedition unattained, I did not hesitate what course to pursue. Perusing the instructions given by you to Mr. Winn, I found it had been made his duty on landing at Sierra Leone, 'to ascertain the actual state of 'those persons who were left at Sherbro during the early 'part of the present year, (1820) and offer them such relief 'as their circumstances may require. You will then proceed 'to make an establishment, either in Sherbro or upon such 'other part of the coast as shall appear to be most eligible 'for the purposes contemplated by your appointment. In 'making an establishment at Sherbro, or elsewhere, as cir-'cumstances shall point to be most expedient; the first ob-'ject of your attention will be, to make the necessary and 'amicable arrangements with the government of the coun-'try, or such other place as you may select, and a full and 'candid exposition of all the objects contemplated; in which 'you will be guarded against possible deception or bad faith; 'and then proceed to make preparation for buildings to shel-'ter captured Africans, and to afford them comfort and pro-'tection, until they can be otherwise disposed of, and also to 'procure permission to cultivate a certain portion of land 'contiguous to their barracks, to raise corn and vegetables, 'and such other articles as may be necessary and useful.'

"Accordingly, on the arrival of Lieutenant R. F. Stockton, who was authorized to co-operate in accomplishing the object of the expedition, I proceeded in company with him down the coast, and on the 15th day of December, 1821, succeeded in accomplishing the long desired object, of procuring an establishment for captured Africans. It now remained to remove the labourers to the place selected, and to

erect buildings, and to carry into effect the other objects contemplated in the instructions to the agents. To aid in the prosecution of these objects, Lieutenant Stockton was so good as to detach H. D. Hunter and four men, to take charge of the vessel to be engaged in removing the people and goods.

"On the 1st day of January, 1822, we dropped the vessel down with the labourers on board to Freetown, where we procured the necessary provisions and presents for the kings; to pay for the use of the land, and the next day sailed for the settlement at Montserado, now called Liberia. Several of the labourers taken out from the U. S. had died, others had become naturalized in the British settlement, and some were discharged for laziness and misconduct; so that 19 effective labourers were all who now remained, to carry into effect the objects of our mission. After we had got possession, our labourers were engaged in clearing the land; and nearly all the goods were removed and stored on the Island of Persuareas. I returned to Fourah Bay to settle the accounts, and bring down the remainder of the property and people. During my absence while at Freetown, a most disastrous affair happened to our labourers at the cape." [Here follows an account of the attack made by the natives upon the settlers.]

"This unfortunate affair made it necessary that I should return to Freetown and procure supplies sufficient to last the labourers, until I could return to the U. S. and lay their pressing demands before the government. On the 18th day of May last, Mr. J. Ashman sailed in the brig Strong, with 16 captured Africans, and sufficient supplies for six months; and about 30 persons of colour with their wives took passage with him.

"The objects contemplated in the President's message to congress, on the 17th of December, 1819, are now so far accomplished, as that a settlement is established on the coast of Africa, where the captured Africans may be returned in safety, and a shelter provided for those who were taken out in the brig Nautilus; but it still remains to provide a shelter for those 16 who went out in the brig Strong; and it would also be expedient to have a shelter in readiness for such as may be sent out in future. There are now at Montserado under charge of the government, 20 captured Africans, 30 labourers, some of them with their families.

"It will be remembered that when Mr. Bacon was appointed the first agent, under the law for the suppression of the slave trade, and for providing for captures on the coast of Africa, he was authorized to take out with him that num-

ber of labourers and women, for the purpose of enabling him to erect houses for the agents, and the public goods, and provisions, and for the reception and accommodation of the captives, that might be placed under his charge. His successors, and my predecessors in the agency, found it necessary to keep up the same number of persons for this service, because the work for which they were thus engaged has never been accomplished, and for the same reason, I have considered it necessary to continue them. The erection of these houses, and other necessary measures of preparation, were never commenced at Sherbro (the first place of settlement selected by Mr. Bacon) on account of the death of the U. S. agents; the mortality among the people, and their unavoidable removal from the place, as heretofore communicated by the agents.

"The terms on which they were originally engaged, and on which they are still continued, are merely to provide for their support during the period of their engagement to labour. The situation of these captives and labourers, if their provisions were to fail, would be very deplorable. They have not yet had time to make a crop, nor are bread and other necessaries to be had, but by going to Sierra Leone, and they are without a vessel or any means of sending there, and the articles could only be procured there at an extravagant price.

"I have the honour to be,
Your obedient humble servant,
E. AYRES, *Agent, C. A.*"
"*Washington, January* 15, 1823."

Having taken a cursory view of the slave trade as conducted by Europeans and Americans, it remains to give a condensed statement of the cruelties and carnage which accompany the procurement of slaves, and their passage to the place of destination; and to exhibit the benefits derived to those who have been happily rescued from the merciless fangs of their brutal captors, by being placed in a situation to become acquainted with agriculture and the mechanic arts.

It has been proved, on the best authority, that famine, devastation, and continual warfare, undertaken for the sole purpose of procuring prisoners, were the inevitable consequences of the presence of slave ships on the coast of Africa, and that the Europeans not only were witnesses of this spectacle of desolation, but furnished the arms, nourished the hatred, and fomented the discord which produced it. It has been proved on the most convincing evidence, that the

demand for slaves, had the fatal effect of developing and exciting every vice and every evil passion among these nations, of perverting their rude institutions, and poisoning their domestic relations. The petty tyrants of those countries were daily induced to condemn indiscriminately whole families for trivial or imaginary crimes, with the sole object of obtaining possession of their persons, and exchanging them for such articles as the trader offered in barter; to station their soldiers in ambush on the roads, with orders to rush on the unarmed traveller, and load him with chains; to attack at night, and without previous notice, villages sunk in sleep, dragging into slavery men, women, and children, of an age suited to their purpose, and mercilessly butchering the old men and infants. See Duc de Broglio's speech, 16th Report A. I. 267.

The renewal of the traffic in human beings on the Windward coast, must be viewed by every friend to humanity with deep regret, accompanied as that renewal has been, with cruel wars amongst the *hitherto peaceful natives*.

Numerous slave factories are established on various parts of the coast by the French, Spanish, and Portuguese, where the slaves are collected and purchased as brought in until the cargo is complete. Although in their hovels or yards their suffering is mild compared with that on the passage, yet penetrated with grief at the thought of being finally separated from all they held most dear, and filled with gloomy forebodings of the rigours of an interminable servitude, the situation of the poor negroes is calculated to awaken the tenderest sympathies, where repeated crime has not rendered the heart callous by extinguishing every spark of humanity. A person residing at Senegal, writing from St. Louis, says, "No one in the town is ignorant, that there are here 600 wretched creatures, shut up in the slave yards, and doomed to be transported to America by the first opportunity. Of these, 150 belong to a house of Nantes. The delay which has occurred, causing a serious expense, they receive only what is sufficient to keep them alive; and they are made to go out for a short space of time in the morning and evening, loaded with irons, to breathe the fresh air, of which they stand in need. Parties of these unhappy persons are to be seen in the streets; and I have myself encountered several, dragging themselves along with difficulty, being restrained of their fetters which prevented them from advancing more than a few inches at a time. I have seen more than one thus chained in the open day, in the court yard of some public functionaries. If you knew all the infamous transactions

or rather all the crimes, which the thirst of gold produces in this country, you would scarcely credit such atrocities. White men, officers of the government, have been seen causing the blacks to be hunted even in the streets of St. Louis; that is to say, causing blacks, either slave or free, to be seized and carried off to the coast, where a ship was in waiting for them. In one instance, a black having been kidnapped in this manner, the next day his mother hastened to offer a sum of money for his liberation. The honest white took the money, and two days after, both mother and son were shipped off for America. The latter, indignant at the outrage, stabbed himself, saying, 'Thou white man, devourer of blacks, I cannot revenge myself upon thee, but by depriving thee of my person.'" 13th Report A. I. p. 99.

"Lieutenant Hagan describes the town of Cacheo as the most wretched slave factory he ever visited. The low, damp, and confined cells for the slaves were loathsome in the extreme, many of them being below the high tide mark of the river. The swamps and stagnant pools immediately in the rear of the town, render Cacheo assuredly the most unhealthy place that can be imagined; but this is not sufficient to deter the slave traders, who generally lose one half of their crews, frequently all their Europeans." Sierra Leone G. 1822.

On the arrival of a vessel, the supercargo lands with the goods which have been selected to suit the market, and through the agency of a factor, circulars are despatched to the neighbouring kings, acquainting them of his arrival, and that he has a handsome assortment of goods which he wishes to dispose of for slaves in a given number of days. They immediately flock to the depot with their slaves, which they exchange for goods at the rate of 100 bars per head; in the mean time, the vessel is preparing rice, wood and water, and when the slaves are collected, they are all embarked in one day: the same night the vessel puts to sea, and if not captured during the first night, or prevented by the weather, they generally succeed in getting off. At the present period, a slave vessel receives a full cargo on her arrival, in less than one third of the time vessels were formerly detained. Cargoes are sometimes collected from different places, in which case, canoes and canoe-men are hired to transport them to the vessel, or to some convenient spot, until a full cargo is in readiness, when a few hours only are required to ship them. In a communication made to the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, by a trader of known observation and intelligence, he states, "Mr. M'Coy, the master of our

schooner, saw 550 slaves marched from the old French fort (where Cha Cha, the chief slaver resides) to the beach in one day, and from thence put on board one of the brigs the following night. One corvette had sailed a few days before our arrival with upwards of 800 on board. Two of the corvettes were chiefly manned with American sailors, but shewed no flag; the other was Spanish, the Minerva. She came to Accra when I was there, and took on board 150 in one night from Accra, the Caboceer of the Dutch Town. I afterwards saw 125 slaves in one house, all in irons, sitting in three rows upon the floor. At Tradetown we met a French brig and schooner, the brig direct from Nantes, with a cargo for 400; the captain had his goods on shore, and was purchasing his cargo at the slave house on the beach, not daring as usual to trust king Wise at his town in the bush. However, his majesty had, the morning I went up to his town, brought in thirty-five prisoners, whom his people had caught the evening before in a small town in the interior, and who were intended for this vessel." 16th Report A. I. p. 70.

The manner in which most of the American slavers carry on their trade is this; they sail from the U. S. to some port in Cuba, with a cargo of blue and white cottons, India checks, nankin, powder, tobacco, &c. where they make a sham sale of the vessel, for the purpose of procuring a set of Spanish papers. The officers make oath that the cargo, entitled to debenture, has been landed, and procure the requisite certificates, whilst every article has remained untouched on board. They then take on board a Spaniard, who passes for the captain, though perhaps this is his first voyage to sea, hoist the Spanish flag, and proceed to the coast of Africa, *north of the line*, keeping three log books, two in Spanish, one true and the other false, and one in English. Having obtained their human cargo, and escaped the vigilance of the cruizers on the coast, the next plan is to arrange the log book to be produced in Cuba, which must shew that the slaves were shipped *south of the line*, and the vessel with her cargo is then admitted to entry. When overhauled by the English or Patriot privateers, they exhibit American papers, and when by the Americans, Spanish papers, by which means many escape capture and condemnation. See letter from Cape de Verds, dated May 29, 1820, published in the Boston Patriot a few months after.

The following significant extracts of a correspondence, dated Isle of Bourbon, and found on board "Le Succes" are a striking delineation of the probity and veracity of a

slave captain and his crew. The vessel performed quarantine, though the slaves had been landed and disposed of. The captain says, "All the crew have been confined on board, with two soldiers of the garrison. On the 13th after our arrival, I obtained permission to proceed on shore. The harbour master had orders to accompany me to a justice of the peace, by whom I, as well as the officers and crew, were examined *on oath*. The crew had been previously *tutored*, and they all answered *very properly*. [There can be no doubt that this *proper* answer which the officers and crew were instructed to make was a direct falsehood.] We therefore entertain the greatest hope that we shall get safely through all these unpleasant proceedings. We have the laws in our favour; but great delay is caused in my operations; the cargo, however, is safe, thank God!" "We were not taken in the fact, therefore they cannot condemn us. All the judges are colonists, who have themselves purchased negroes belonging to our cargo, and therefore *we* are perfectly easy, and you may be so too." "I shall transmit you by the first opportunity my statement of trading transactions, which, however, will not be very specific, from the circumstance of my having been under the necessity of burning my waste book and journal, our instructions, invoices, and even your letters, which came to hand on our arrival at Bourbon, and the letters from our families, being apprehensive of a search on board. We even sunk in the roads our caboose, and the copper boilers for the negroes, and the iron fetters: but we may easily recover them." "You will herewith receive the account of sales of the merchandize sold at Bourbon, and that of the negroes. It unfortunately happened that I found four large Spanish ships engaged in the trade; but for this adverse circumstance, I might have procured near 400 negroes. The Success takes her departure to-morrow for St. Paul's, to sweep for the copper boilers, and the negroes' caboose, &c. On the 30th I will rejoin her in order to proceed to sea. At length our miseries are over. The Isle of Bourbon has cost us dear. It must not be dwelt upon. If I should only have the good fortune of introducing 250 negroes into the Havanna, we shall be freed from all our miseries. God grant it may be so." 16th Report A. I. p. 149.

As the slave trade is now generally prohibited by those governments, whose subjects or citizens are engaged in its prosecution, it appears to be carried on in a manner more abhorrent to the feelings of humanity, and more destructive to its victims, than before those prohibitory laws were enacted. While the trade was tolerated, the abuses, however enor-

mous, were subjected to some control, from which the trader who now pursues his traffic in defiance of national, as well as moral restraint, is totally free. The number of negroes which each slave ship was allowed to transport, could then be adapted to her burden; the maintenance of these poor creatures in a certain degree could be provided for, and they more or less protected from the barbarity of their tyrants. In order to conceive, if possible, some idea of the horrors of the middle passage, it will be useful to recur to a section of a slave ship, published by the committee in London in the year 1789, and frequently printed since in Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Here the unhappy victims are exhibited stowed so closely, as to leave scarcely any part of the floor uncovered. Their situation, when thus confined in a sultry climate, loaded with heavy irons, and depressed with the prospect of a hopeless captivity, must be deplorable indeed. This representation too, it must be remembered, is according to the regulations established by Sir William Dolbin's bill, assigning three men to two tons burden of the ship. Now the traffic is entirely prohibited, the risk induces the slavers to crowd the negroes into their vessels in much greater numbers, and to compel them by stripes and cruel tortures to continue in this intolerable situation, unless disease and death should thin their ranks. When closely pursued by armed cruizers, they have been even thrown overboard, as contraband goods; and when rendered useless to their captors by disease, they have been cast into the sea, as damaged goods subject to average. In a letter written by an officer on board the British ship Tartar, on the coast of Africa, printed in the London Courier September 3d, 1821, after stating the capture of two slave vessels at Bonny, he says, "If you could judge what 400 people would suffer in the between-decks of a Margate hoy, not above three feet six inches high, you may form some opinion of the necessity there was for removing a considerable number of these wretched beings to the deck of the Tartar, and liberating them from their horrid slave rooms, and from the confinement in irons as soon as possible. One of the slave vessels captured, had been completed in her cargo of human misery only two days, and was waiting a favourable wind to clear the shoals, and yet there were more than thirty cases of the very last stage of dysentery. The dying and the dead were mingled together. The women were comparatively comfortable, and yet there were nearly 100 confined in a space not 4 feet high, nor above 16 feet by 9 to sleep in. I can speak to these facts, as I measured every part of these vessels. Their tubs shewed they were not exempt from the

dreadful disease which had already commenced amongst the men, and which the nature of slave food with impure water invariably produces. Nothing can be supposed more horrid, than the treatment and condition of the slaves on their passage from Africa. Fever and dysentery let loose, the hatches scarcely open to admit sufficient air even to prevent immediate suffocation! Perhaps you will hesitate in believing, that the thermometer which stood in the shade at 85, rose immediately at the entrance of the slave room to 110, and at last to 115 degrees." Nat. Int. Oct. 27, 1821.

Sir William Dolbin's bill, as we have stated, provided that not more than three persons should be carried to every two tons burden of the ship: let the following cases, laid before parliament by direction of the Prince Regent in 1819, be compared with this provision. The Venus Havannera, 180 tons, her cargo according to W Dolbin's bill would be 270 slaves; the number actually carried was 530, very nearly 6 to every 2 tons. The Manilla of 272 tons, legal complement 410, number carried 642. The Nueva Constitucion, 30 tons burden, with 81 slaves, and several others enumerated p. 72. 13th Report A. I.

From the testimony of an eye witness, it appears that on board the schooner Aglæ, of the registered burthen of only 40 tons, with a hold, by actual measurement, not 3 feet high, were stowed 70 men, chained together in pairs; 22 young women, and about 60 children, all in a state of perfect nakedness. The only care seemed to have been, to pack them as close as possible; and tarpaulin was placed over tarpaulin, in order to give the vessel the appearance of being laden with a well stowed cargo of cotton and rice. 9th Report A. I. p. 86.

"The Novo Felicidada of 11 tons burden, had 71 human beings crowded in her hold. Their sufferings, surpassing in cruelty if possible, all former example, are related as follows in the 14th Report A. I.

"Captain Kelly of his Majesty's ship Pheasant, captured on the 30th of July last, in lat. 2° 23′ north, long. 9° 50′ east, a Portuguese schooner, called the Novo Felicidada, belonging to Prince's Island, having on board 70 slaves, and a crew consisting of 1 master and 10 sailors. This vessel measured only 11 tons! She was carried by Captain Kelly to Sierra Leone for adjudication, and his judicial declaration contains the following statement: "I do further declare, that the state in which these unfortunate creatures were found, is shocking to every principle of humanity; 17 men shackled together in pairs by the legs, and 20 boys one on the other in the main hold; a space measuring 18

feet in length, 7 feet 8 inches main breadth, and 1 foot 8 inches in height, and under them the yams for their support. One of these unfortunate creatures was in the last stage of dysentery, whose natural evacuations ran involuntarily from him amongst the yams, creating effluvia too shocking for description. The appearance of the slaves when released from their irons, was most distressing; scarcely any of them could stand on their legs, from cramp and evident starvation. The space allowed for the females, 34 in number, was even more contracted than that for the men, measuring only 9 feet 4 inches in length, 4 feet 8 inches main breadth, and 2 feet 7 inches in height; but not being confined in irons, and perhaps allowed during the day to come on deck, they did not present so distressing an appearance as the men."

From the statements of facts of the character here exhibited, there can be no difficulty in adopting the sentiment of Sir G. R. Collier, "that the crews of slave vessels are be-"yond all question, from the captain to the cabin boy, the "wildest and most depraved class of human beings. In my "belief, slave is not a crime they consider one, and there-"fore who never a prospect of robbery with impunity offers, "I can have no doubt any one of the crew of a slave ves-"sel would never for a moment hesitate." In contending with the present restrictions upon the trade, perjury is very commonly resorted to, and by the following instance, we see they do not stop to commit immediate murder, when circumstances of the case in their opinion require it. "The schooner —— Don Morales master, arrived in the Rio Pongos during the month of August last (1821), where she took on board 260 slaves, and sailed in the beginning of September for Havanna. Our informant states, that the master (Morales), when trading for his cargo, exhibited many instances of a ferocity of character towards his slaves; but it appears that after leaving the river, his cruelty had its full scope. The number of slaves on board being quite disproportionate to the stowage of the schooner, he was obliged from the first to issue short rations of water and rice, in consequence of which, some discontent was manifested by the slaves. Morales, deaf to their wants, by way of punishment, kept them all below for three days without food of any kind, and with a barbarity unparalleled, except amongst slave dealers, discharged all the fire-arms in his vessel into the hold upon the poor victims, bound down and fastened to each other with chains. Some of the sailors presumed to interfere; but this barbarian silenced their clamour, by cutting off the head of the most forward with his sabre. He

then made sail again for the Rio Pongos, where with the assistance of the slave factors, he got every thing put to rights, took in slaves to supply the number killed, and again sailed for the Havanna. The above facts are from the mouth of Morales himself; and we feel it unnecessary to offer any further comments upon them." Royal Gazette, Sierra Leone, 16th Report A. I. p. 185.

It will appear by the following cases furnished in reply to the query addressed by Viscount Castlereagh to the African Institution, "whether the trade has been conducted with peculiar inhumanity and waste of life by these *illicit* traders," that from one quarter to one third of the cargo usually perishes either on ship board, or soon after landing, by the diseases and hardships of the voyage.

"Of the 530 slaves carried off in the Venus Havannera, when captured on her passage to the Havanna and carried into Tortola, the mortality was found to be 120.

"The deaths in the Manilla of 642 slaves, on the passage to the West Indies previous to her capture, amounted to 140.

"The Gertrudes, a ship sailing under the Spanish flag, took on board 600 slaves. This ship was taken while yet on the African coast, and brought to Sierra Leone for adjudication; but notwithstanding the short time that had elapsed since the slaves were taken on board, such was the dreadful state of crowding, that about 200 died before the ship was brought in, or within a short time after arrival; many even of those who survived, were so debilitated by their sufferings, as never to be likely to enjoy sound health.

"Maria Priemeira, took on board 500 slaves. This number was reduced to 403 by extreme crowding before she was brought into Sierra Leone, and nearly 100 more died soon after, in consequence of diseases contracted on board.

"Portuguese brig San Antonio of 120 tons, took on board 600 slaves. When captured, although she had only sailed 80 leagues, 30 slaves had already died, and many more were found to be in a dying state. When the capturing officer first went on board the slave ship, he found a dead body in a state of absolute putridity, lying among the sick.

"The Spanish brig Carlos under 200 tons burthen, took on board 512 negroes in addition to a crew of 84. About 80 slaves died previous to her capture, and the rest were in a most deplorable state. Many more instances might be added, but these may be considered as exhibiting the ordinary rate of mortality on board the ships engaged in this illicit slave trade." 13th Report A. I. p. 72, 73.

Although these facts are not of so recent a date as many others adduced, yet they are equally conclusive, as the trade carried on under similar circumstances, must be at all times marked with similar destruction of life.

Here let us pause for a moment, and reflect upon the melancholy picture of distress which these facts exhibit. Let us open our hearts, and give place for a while to the tender emotions of sympathy and love. Let us place ourselves and our helpless families in the miserable situation of these unprotected, these unoffending people, and then say whether as men and as christians, we are not bound by all the ties of humanity, as well as by every obligation of religious duty, to raise our voice, and to exert our influence in their behalf! But although the feeling mind, in examining the foregoing statements, will necessarily be impressed with strong sensations of indignation and horror, yet it must be admitted that the description, with all the assistance which the imagination can afford, is still very inadequate to convey a just idea of the miseries inseparably connected with this traffic. To contemplate hundreds of miserable fellow beings, torn away with brutal violence from their homes and country, and every thing which nature or habit holds most dear; separated for ever from the tenderest and loveliest connexions in life; chained together like the beasts of the field, and crowded into the pestilential hold of a slave ship, where they must gasp for breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, which expiring nature exhibits; the living, the dying and the dead, stowed promiscuously together, and subjected to the control of the most merciless of men: and to reflect that these are our fellow men, our brethren, endued with feelings like our own; children of the same kind and bountiful parent, and equally the objects of Redeeming Love, is surely enough to excite feelings of the tenderest commiseration, and an anxious solicitude to arrest, if possible, this scourge of man. Bitter, very bitter indeed, is the cup of woe meted out to hapless Africa, and she has been compelled to drink it to the very dregs. All the injuries and the cruelties which ingenuity, sharpened by avarice could invent, have been heaped upon her, till her once peaceful and happy shores are stained with the blood of her children, and desolated by all the barbarizing mischiefs of slavery and the slave trade. And it now becomes us to enquire, what we can do to diminish the grievous load of suffering which still presses heavily upon her. Her suffering sons call aloud for redress: their tears, their sighs, their groans and supplications, are a loud and touching appeal to the best feelings of our nature;

and if we turn a deaf ear and refuse to hearken, we may implicate ourselves in the weight of guilt for which her persecutors are responsible, and thus render ourselves offensive in the Divine sight. "Open thy mouth for the dumb—in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction."

These details of cruelty and injustice not only excite a heartfelt abhorrence of this execrable traffic in the blood of our fellow men, but strike the unprejudiced mind with the conviction, that much is due to repair the wrongs and the sufferings which are inflicted on that deeply injured people. Great Britain has set the example, in her endeavours to make some amends for these injuries, and the benefits which have already accrued to the degraded and benighted children of Africa, through the unwearied exertions of the friends of that people in England, seconded and assisted by the government, are a subject of pleasing contemplation, and should stimulate others to "go and do likewise." From the happy effects of British benevolence and perseverance, exhibited at the colony of Sierra Leone, in the improvement of the liberated negroes in literature, and the knowledge of the useful arts of civilized life, there is good ground to believe, that by enlightening the natives, and encouraging them to seek the means of subsistence in the culture of their lands, and the exchange of the products of their labour, for the manufactures and produce of other countries, a very important and extensive check would be given to the unnatural commerce in their own species. This opinion, in unison with the following observations of Dr. E. Ayres, U. S. agent for liberated Africans, extracted from a communication to the Secretary of the Navy, dated February 24, 1823, is substantiated by the representations of various persons, who have visited and resided at Sierra Leone.

Speaking of the slave trade, he says, "The means heretofore made use of for its suppression, can never accomplish this desirable object, until France can be induced to enter with sincerity into effectual measures, to prevent her flag from affording protection to all, who choose to take shelter under it. Until this fortunate arrangement shall be entered into, it becomes an enteresting enquiry, what other means could be made use of under the existing state of things, to lessen the extent, and abate the miseries of this enormous traffic. I am happy in being able to state with confidence, that such means do exist and are entirely within our con-

trol as far as respects the natives within the vicinity of our settlement. Hence I will hazard the assertion, founded on personal observation of the character of the natives, their facility in acquiring our language, their desire of adopting our mechanical arts, and the attainments they have already made in the vicinity of the British settlements, that had half the money which has been spent by the British and American governments, in legislating on the subject and in bringing to justice the violators of the laws on the slave trade, been judiciously employed in the introduction of the arts, and the promotion of agriculture among the natives, Africa would not at this day, have to lament the loss of so many of her sons, and her dependance upon the sale of her children, for the necessaries of life. England has done much, very much for that benighted country. Immense sums have been expended, but until very lately, little progress had been effected among the natives, towards the introduction of civilized improvements. A better order of things has succeeded. The last year was a memorable era for Africa. A pacification was brought about, between two powerful kings of the interior, who had been in a state of hostility for many years. This has opened a large tract of country to the trade of Freetown, in which lies the extensive nation of the Mendingoes. A travelling priest has arrived from Egypt, through the interior and by Tombuctoo, from whose representations, there was a new map of Africa forming, when I left that country.

"A very favourable crisis has arrived for the introduction of a new course of life among the natives. For two hundred years past, they have been taught to depend upon the sale of their species for the necessaries of life, to the neglect of every other mode of supply. This has rendered them incapable of gaining a subsistence in any other way. The interruption given to the slave trade has rendered the supply from this source irregular and often scanty. The cry of hard times, is perhaps not less frequently vociferated in the wild and luxuriant regions of Africa, than in the streets of the gay and voluptuous cities of civilized countries. Many in that country, are looking forward with anxious solicitude, to some less exceptionable and more certain supply of those articles, which from bad habit are considered as the necessaries of life. Could they be supplied with the instruments of agriculture and many of the mechanical arts, and taught how to use them, they would joyfully renounce their present mode of living. When I explained to one of the most powerful kings in the country, our method of ginning,

spinning and weaving cotton, and told him I would learn his people how to do it, he was much pleased, and pressed me to fetch his son home with me, that he might acquire the ability of introducing those arts into his country. A small present of hoes, axes, ploughs, &c. with instructions how to use them, would now effect a great revolution in the habits of these people. They would in a little time see that the labour of one year from each slave, would be worth more, than they are in the habit of receiving, for his final purchase. This alone would prevent his being sold as a slave, or should the force of long habit, still blind the eyes of the native holder to his own interest, yet the value of the slave would be so much enhanced, and detract so much from the profit, that the trader would be deterred from hazarding the consequences of the trade."

Various documents contained in the 16th report of the African Institution in London, give ample evidence of the labours of the friends of humanity for the annihilation of the slave trade, some of which have been accompanied with a cheering result. By successive treaties with Radama, king of Madagascar, the slave trade which had so long wasted that fine and fertile land, is discontinued in his dominions. "One of the conditions of the last treaty was, that twenty Madagascar youths should be taken under the care of the British government; and that ten of them should be placed at the Isle of France, there to acquire the knowledge of certain useful arts, and that the other ten should be sent to England for the same purpose. This condition has been fulfilled." The power of the king is absolute, and by different accounts, the treaty for the suppression of the slave trade is observed with scrupulous exactness; and so long as its stipulations are mutually complied with, it is the opinion of Captain Moresby, that more will be done for the cause of humanity in the extinction of the traffic in that place, "than the most active marine or coast police could possibly perform."—p. 38 & 379.

The progress of agriculture, mechanics and commerce among the coloured inhabitants of Sierra Leone, as related in the report, affords an encouraging prospect. In the year 1821, there were 10,000 liberated negroes in that colony distributed throughout its different towns and villages. On the arrival and condemnation of a captured slave vessel, those of a proper age are named and sent to the adjacent villages. A house and lot is appointed to each family, and they are supported one year by government, at the expiration of which they are obliged to look out for a subsistence

themselves. The captured children are also sent to the villages, where they are kept at school till married, which is always at an early age. Schools are established in Freetown, Regent, Gloucester, Leopold, Bathurst, Charlotte, Kissey, Waterloo, Wilberforce, Kent, and Seminary Regent, in which were instructed that year 1959 adults and children of both sexes.

A spirit for advancing their local accommodations was evident from the improvement of the roads in the neighbourhood of Freetown, and in the mountains; the bridges have been constructed of more durable materials than heretofore; considerably more ground has been cleared in the environs of the mountains, numerous stone and brick houses are supplying the places of the former wooden ones, and population is rapidly increasing. There was imported into Freetown this year goods invoiced at 105,060*l.* sterling, and exported in 26 vessels, upwards of 15 tons and 16 casks of elephant's teeth and scrivelloes, 49,752 gallons of palm oil, 167 tons and 1276 billets of Camwood, $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons of gum copal, 2 tons 9 cwt. bees wax, 2304 oz. gold dust, 23 oz. gold, and $42\frac{1}{2}$ tons of rice, besides different grains, spices, timber, shingles, and many other articles of merchandize. G. R. Collier, expresses his satisfaction in reporting, that the settlement of Bathurst is fast improving in trade and commerce with the native Africans. The merchants are likely to benefit in a very high degree by the renewal of the gum trade with the Trarzar Moors at Portendick. The British merchants engaged in the trade assert, that gum to the full extent of what may be required by Great Britain, may be had in exchange for British goods.

Regent's Town, says Captain H. Turner, in a letter of 1822, wears the aspect of a well peopled village in our happy land; its inhabitants civilized, industrious, honest and neatly clothed. The ground allotted to each family is cultivated, each lot being distinctly marked out. The town contains nearly 2000 inhabitants.

"Wellington," says the Sierra Leone Gazette, "has a very respectable appearance. There are 300 houses in it; each house stands in a small allotment, and the inhabitants cultivate their farms about the country surrounding them. There are no less than 200 farmers, 40 lime-burners, 30 sawyers, and 10 shingle makers, besides a few carpenters, masons and a blacksmith. There are upwards of 200 acres in the *vicinity* of the town, under cultivation; several men have raised this year a ton and a half of rice, and a large quantity of cassada, cocoa and Guinea corn. The inha-

bitants are commended for their orderly and industrious habits." p. 334.

"The town of Gloucester, Leopold, Charlotte and Bathurst, all appear to be thriving. Gloucester is next in size to Regent's Town, and by no means inferior in its progress in religious improvement and civilization."

The Gazette, under date of September 1, 1821, remarks, "It is gratifying to know, that within the last fortnight, a great many Foulahs, and other nations from distant parts, have arrived at Port Logo for the purpose of bartering ivory, gold and cattle, for articles of European manufacture. It is not generally known, that Mr. K. Macaulay, established a respectable trading factory at Port Logo, so soon as the success of the late mission to Almamy Abdulkadan was publickly known. To this factory, the natives of Foulah now daily resort, and it is certainly most pleasing to all real friends to Africa, and to those of this colony more especially, to find that by the friendly intercourse which ensued from the late mission, so many of the inhabitants of near and remote countries, are endeavouring to participate in the advantages of that legitimate commerce, which led to the original foundation of this colony. They are well acquainted with the views and leading objects of the local government, and are likewise well aware of the rooted hatred, with which that inhuman traffic is viewed by every inhabitant of this colony. It is therefore a great point gained in our friendly and commercial intercourse with these warlike nations, who have ever shewn the greatest attachment to the slave trade, that they now so freely resort to this colony, and are encouraged to do so, as much by the influence of Almamy of Teembo and other chiefs, as by the love of gain." p. 332.

"Every year," says G. R. Collier, "some new prospect of improvement opens to the merchant. An intercourse with the interior of Africa now fairly promises ultimate success, and which must be productive to Great Britain; and it may be even expected that some years hence, caravans shall resort to the neighbourhood of Port Logo (on a branch of the Sierra Leone) to convey articles of British manufacture into the very interior of the continent of Africa." p. 343.

An intelligent trader on the coast, states, "along the whole range of coast, where the restrictions may be considered as having been effective, (that is from Accra to Tradetown) industrious habits are extending their beneficial influence among the inhabitants; a greater attention to agricultural and commercial pursuits is evidently increasing, and these pursuits want only encouragement to render them

productive of extensive gain to the merchants, and to make them the means of supplying the increasing wants of the natives. As a proof that on the total abolition of the traffic in slaves, the Africans would, in the course of a short time, turn their attention to other pursuits, I would refer you to the fact, that though previous to the abolition, the inhabitants of the Gold coast actually purchased palm oil from the Lago and Benin traders, for domestic purposes; yet in the course of the last twelve months, there were shipped from the same country, above 500 tons of that commodity." Speaking of the inducements held out for settlers from home, he proceeds, "Their success would encourage the natives to the employing of their numerous domestic slaves in similar objects, which is what is chiefly wanted to lead to the rapid civilization and improvement of the African people."

"Along the whole coast from the Kroo Country, as far as Appollonia, the inhabitants are all anxious to cultivate a close and increased connexion with the English; and the chief men desirous that their sons should read and write, or as they express it, "to know book all the same as white man." In corroboration, or as an evidence of the existence of this spirit, I have only to acquaint you that the Caboceers of Accra and of Cape Lahoo sent their sons with me to this place to be educated; and had I been aware that the object would have been so liberally met by the government here, I could have brought two or three of the chief's sons of every town on the coast where I am known." p. 72.

We will close this short sketch of the prosperous state of the colony, with an account of the landing of a company of liberated Africans. The cheering welcome which they met with from their own countrymen, who had also escaped the grasp of the slaver, presents a pleasing contrast to those dreadful midnight scenes of carnage and devastation, in the midst of which many of these poor creatures become the prey of their murderous robbers. It is furnished by W. Johnson, superintendant of Regent's Town, dated May 21, 1821. "On Thursday morning I was informed that the slaves and vessel were condemned by the court. The description was then taken; after which 219 slaves were delivered to me. I cannot describe the scene which occurred when we arrived at Regent's Town. I have seen many negroes landed, but never beheld such an affecting sight. As soon as we came in sight, all the people came out of their houses towards the road to meet us, with the greatest accla-

mations. When they beheld the new people weak and faint, they carried and led them up towards my house. After they had laid themselves on the ground, being quite exhausted; many of our people recognized their friends and relations, and there was a general cry, 'O master! my sister! my brother! my countryman! he lived in the same town! my countrywoman!' &c. The poor creatures being faint, just taken out of the hold of a slave vessel, and unconscious of what had befallen them, did not know whether they should laugh or cry, when they beheld the countenances of those whom they had supposed long dead, but now saw clothed and clean, and perhaps with healthy children in their arms. In short I cannot describe the scene; it was too affecting; no one could refrain from shedding tears, and lifting up the heart in prayer and praise to the wonder-working God, whose ways are in the deep. The school boys and girls brought the victuals which they had prepared; and all the people following their example ran to their homes, and brought what they had got ready; and in a short time their unfortunate countrymen were overpowered with messes of every description, such as they had not been accustomed to for a long time." p. 346.